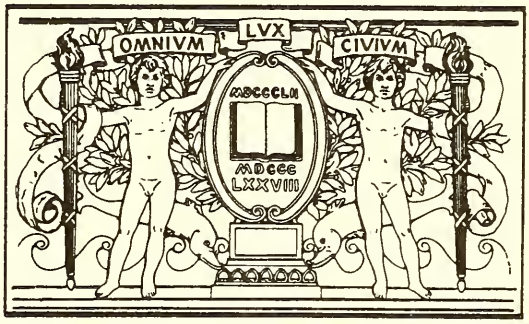
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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & Co., LTD., beg to announce that they have still in stock a limited number of the larger edition of the hieroglyphic text and translation of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, with the hieroglyphic vocabulary by DR. WALLIS BUDGE, which appeared in three volumes under the title "CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY," late in 1897.

Price for the Entire Work, £2 10*s*.

VOLUME I. contains all the known Chapters of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, printed in hieroglyphic type (pp. 1—517), and a description of the papyri in the British Museum from which they have been edited, and a list of Chapters, etc. (pp. i.—xl.). This edition is the most complete which has hitherto been published.

VOLUME II. contains a full vocabulary (pp. 1—386) to all the hieroglyphic texts of the Chapters of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead and to the supplementary Chapters from the Saïte Recension which are given therewith in Volume I. The volume contains about 35,000 references.

VOLUME III. contains:—

Preface and list of Chapters (i.-xxxvi.).

1. INTRODUCTION (pp. xxxvii.-cciv.):—

Chap. I.—The History of the Book of the Dead. This Chapter is accompanied by eighteen plates which illustrate the palæography of the various Recensions of the Book of the Dead from the Vth Dynasty to the Roman Period.

Chap. II.—Osiris and the Resurrection.
„ III.—The Judgment of the Dead.
„ IV.—The Elysian Fields or Heaven. With extracts from the Pyramid Texts.
„ V.—The Magic of the Book of the Dead.
„ VI.—The Object and Contents of the Book of the Dead.
„ VII.—The Book of the Dead of Nesi-Khonsu, about B.C. 1000 (English translation).
„ VIII.—The Book of Breathings (English translation).
„ IX.—The Papyrus of Takhert-puru-ȧbt (English translation).

2. English Translation of the Book of the Dead (pp. 1—354). The volume also contains three scenes from the famous Papyrus of Ani representing the Judgment Scene, the Funeral Procession, and the Elysian Fields, which have been reproduced in full colours by Mr. W. Griggs, the eminent photo-lithographer.

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

A HISTORY OF EGYPT

From the End of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII. B.C. 30

Vol. III.

EGYPT UNDER THE AMENEMḤĀTS AND HYKSOS

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

EGYPT

UNDER

THE ÀMENEMḤĀTS AND HYKSOS

BY

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt.D., D.Lit.

KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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PREFACE

THE period of Egyptian history treated in the present volume has been continued from the end of the reign of Seānkh-ka-Rā, the last king of the XIth Dynasty, to the end of the reign of Thothmes II., i.e., from about 2500 to 1550 B.C. This period is one of the most important in the history of Egypt, for during its course the Egyptians founded their great colony in Nubia, and defeated the Hyksos, and began to extend their possessions into Western Asia. We see the capital of the country now definitely transferred from Memphis to Thebes, the result probably of the difficulty found in ruling the warlike tribes of the south from a city so far to the north as Memphis. The great kings of the XIIth Dynasty, the Ȧmenemḥāts and the Usertsens, having made firm their hold upon Nubia as far south as the head of the Third Cataract, turned their attention to increasing the material prosperity of the land, which they had re-organized, and which they were ruling with capable hands, by constructing systems of canals and other irrigation works, the greatest of which

was the famous Lake Mœris. Such works were, no doubt, carried out by forced labour, but few could complain of this, for they were of public utility, and benefited the community far more than the Pyramids, those mighty monuments of the great kings of the IVth and Vth Dynasties. The Pyramids, however, which were built by the greatest kings of the XIIth Dynasty, though smaller, prove that the hands of the architect and the master-mason had not lost their cunning. The extension into Nubia of the kingdom of Egypt brought with it serious responsibilities and wars with which the immediate successors of the Ȧmenemḥāts were unable to cope, and during the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties they had the greatest difficulty in maintaining the integrity of their kingdom against the attacks of the nomadic Semitic tribes on the East, of the Libyans on the West, and of the Nubians in the South. During the XVth and XVIth Dynasties we find that the "filthy" Hyksos took possession of the Delta, where they began the period of their rule by the wanton destruction of the temples and their gods, but where they finished by adopting Egyptian civilization, and by adding the greatest of their tribal gods, Sutekh, to the companies of the Egyptian gods. Subsequently the ambition of the Hyksos kings aimed at the sovereignty of the whole country from the sea to Nubia, but the attempt which they made to gain it was foiled by the intrepidity of the Theban kings, who defeated them in more than one decisive engagement,

and who eventually expelled them from the country. Their departure was the first and greatest Exodus from the Delta, and it became the historic fact around which, in later centuries, the Hebrews hung the traditions of their greatness in Egypt, and their expulsion therefrom. In fact, late writers like Josephus have entirely confused this great Exodus with that smaller Exodus during which the descendants of the Patriarch Jacob were obliged to flee to Palestine. The kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty understood the serious danger with which Egypt was threatened by the nomadic Semitic tribes of her north-east frontier, and took steps immediately to obtain possession of cities and towns in Southern Syria, from which they could control the movements of the restless and rebellious tribes in the neighbourhood. How they succeeded in effecting their purpose is briefly described in this and in the following volume. Chronologically, however, the period treated in the present section is full of difficulty, and in the present state of Egyptological knowledge no satisfactory account of it can be given. The compilers of the King Lists were themselves hopelessly perplexed, and it is evident that many parts of their chronological systems are entirely artificial. The Turin Papyrus would probably have helped us out of this difficulty, but no reliance can be placed upon it as an authority for constructing the chronology of Dynasties XII.—XVII. In spite of recent assertions to the contrary, the remarks by Rosellini, de Rougé, Birch,

and Wiedemann show that it is useless for critical purposes, first, because of the lacunae in it, and secondly, because the re-joining of many of the fragments by Seyffarth is hopelessly wrong. We can only hope that some fortunate "find" of papyri may give to Egyptologists an unbroken copy of the work.

E. A. Wallis Budge.

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EGYPT

UNDER THE

ÀMENEMḤĀTS AND HYKSOS.

CHAPTER I.

THE TWELFTH DYNASTY. FROM THEBES.

1.  RĀ-SEḤETEP-ÀB, son of the Sun, ÀMEN-EM-HĀT, *'Αμμενέμης*.



NEM-MESTU, the Horus name of Àmenemḥāt I.

ÀMENEMḤĀT I., the first king of the XIIth Dynasty, is to be identified with Ammenemes, who, according to Manetho (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 110), reigned sixteen years. He was, no doubt, one of the sixteen kings who are said to have reigned for forty-three years, and he was the first of the princes of Thebes who succeeded in making himself actually king of the Nile Valley from the Mediterranean Sea to Aswân. He adopted as his Horus name the words "Nem-mestu," i.e., "he who repeats births," the allusion being to

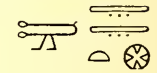
his character as the divine Horus of gold, i.e., the Sun-god, who is born anew daily. That he was of Theban origin is certain, and Brugsch thought that he was a descendant of the Âmen-em-ḥāt, the official who did such great works for Menthu-ḥetep II.; but there is no proof forthcoming in support of this view. Seānkh-ka-Rā, whom Âmenemḥāt I. succeeded, was a strong king, and he was certainly regarded as first of the kings of the Middle Empire, but it seems that when he died he left Egypt in a very unsettled condition, and we have no idea how Âmenemḥāt I. came to ascend the throne of Egypt as his successor. And when he had assumed the sovereignty of the country, his own immediate followers, in fact, the members of his own house, conspired against him, and from a document which has been preserved to us in two copies we know that he was well-nigh assassinated on one occasion. The king is made to narrate the story himself, and he tells us how in the night-season, when darkness reigned, he seized the opportunity of taking an hour's rest, which is good for the heart, and how he had gone to lie down on his bed in his own chamber. He was tired, and had hardly begun to compose himself when he fell fast asleep, but almost immediately he was awakened by the noise of the weapons of a number of men who had conspired together to kill him, and who had burst into his room to carry their purpose into effect. The king leaped from his couch and attacked his attackers to such good purpose that, one after the other, he put them to flight, and so

saved his own life.[1] When this conspiracy broke out, we are unfortunately not told, but some think that it immediately preceded the association of his son Usertsen I. with himself in the rule of the kingdom.

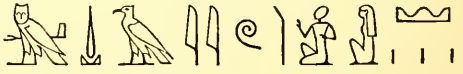
When Åmenemḥāt became king he found that many things in Egypt needed setting in order, a fact which we learn from an inscription in the tomb of Khnemu-ḥetep at Beni Hasan, where we read that the maternal grandfather of this official, who also bore the name of Khnemu-ḥetep, had been appointed an *erpā ḥā* and a governor of the Eastern Desert in the town of Menāt-Khufu. The grandson who built the tomb now referred to speaks of Åmenemḥāt I. as having come to do away evil, and as appearing in splendour even as the god Temu himself; he restored that which had been overthrown, and what one city had stolen from another he gave back, and he marked out the frontiers of each principality, and arranged that each city should know its own boundaries, and he re-established the old laws in respect of the supply of water for irrigation purposes to the various districts, according to what he found written on the subject in the ancient registers. This he did because of the greatness of his love for justice.[2] What he did at Menāt-Khufu is only an instance of what he did everywhere, and as far as we can tell he

[1] See Dümichen, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 30; Birch, *Egyptian Texts*, p. 16; Maspero, *Recueil*, tom. ii. p. 70; *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 9–16; *Les Origines*, p. 465.

[2] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. i. p. 59.

endeavoured to rule his country according to his ideas of what was right and just. He caused work to be carried on in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât, and in Ṭura, and the stone which he brought from the quarries there seems to have been used in sacred buildings. He built for himself a building, half fortress, half palace, which was situated on the right or east bank of the Nile, to the south of Memphis, and called "Thet-taui,"[1] , and he followed the example set by the great Pharaohs of Memphis and built a pyramid tomb, to which he gave the name "Qa," , i.e., the "Exalted." The remains of this pyramid may be seen at Lisht, not far from the modern Kafr al-'Ayât, about thirty miles south of Cairo.

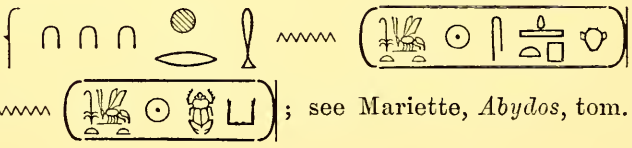
Àmenemḥāt was not unmindful of the temples of the gods, for he carried on works of restoration, and dedicated buildings or statues at Tanis and Bubastis in the Delta, and at Crocodilopolis, Coptos, Abydos, and Karnak in Upper Egypt.

In the twenty-ninth year of his reign, we learn from an inscription published by Brugsch,[2] he went to the country of Uauat, i.e., Northern Nubia, to overthrow it, and there is no reason to doubt that he was successful, especially as we are told in the Second Sallier Papyrus (pll. 2 and 3) that he conquered the Asiatics and the Mātchaiu Nubians, .

[1] Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 983.

[2] *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1882, vol. 30 ff.

In the twentieth year of his reign he associated with himself in the rule of the kingdom Usertsen I., who subsequently became a great and able king.[1] Àmenemḥāt wrote a number of "Instructions" or "Precepts" for his son, which were highly prized in Egypt and copied as classics by the scribes of the New Empire.[2] They are very hard to understand at times, but it seems that the king begins his instructions by warning his son against making too many friends among his people, and against laxity of rule. Guard thyself, is the king's motto, for friends are found to be wanting in the day of calamity. He gave to the poor and the needy, he treated the poor with the same consideration as the rich, but it was the very folk to whom he had done good who stirred up strife, and those who put on his apparel and used his spices were the first to curse him. His works are known of and seen among men, but they are not sufficiently heeded by the people, who seem to be like an ox who hath forgotten yesterday. Then follows an account of the conspiracy, which appears to have been caused by the dissatisfaction of the people because

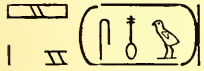
[1] Compare  ; see Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. ii. plate 22.

[2] The texts are published by Birch (*Select Papyri*, Sallier II.) and Maspero, *Recueil*, II. p. 70 and plates; the most recent renderings are by Amélineau (*Recueil*, tom. x. pp 98–121) and by Griffith, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1896, pp. 35–51.

Àmenemḥāt had not made his son to sit on the throne with him. Further on the king says, "I advanced to "Ābu (Elephantine) and I returned to the Papyrus "Swamps; I stood upon the ends of the earth and I saw "its bend over, and I advanced the confines by wonderful "deeds of strength." He made corn to be plentiful, and no man went hungry or thirsty in his time, and all people were satisfied with his rule. He hunted lions and crocodiles, he vanquished the tribes of Nubia, Uauaiu, , and the Mātchaiu, and he made the Asiatics, Sati  to follow him like dogs. He built a palace ornamented with gold and lapis-lazuli, and furnished with bronze gates and bolts, and the walls thereof were built upon well laid foundations; and with some final remarks to Usertsen individually the "Instructions" come to an end.

Belonging to this period, and of considerable value as illustrating the condition of Egypt in the reign of Àmenemḥāt I., is the now famous Story of Sa-nehat.[1] It seems that Sa-nehat was the son of Àmenemḥāt I., and that he was attached to the army which was under the command of Usertsen I., who was engaged in war against the Libyans; one day a messenger came to

[1] For the hieratic texts see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vi. plates 104–107; for a hieroglyphic transcript and translations see Maspero, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, tom. iii. pp. 68–82; *Contes Égyptiens*, pp. 105–134; Goodwin, *Story of Saneha*, 1866; Chabas, *Les Papyrus de Berlin*, p. 37 ff.

announce to Usertsen I. the death of his father, and by chance Sa-nehat overheard the news, with the result that he was seized with a fit of terror, and fearing lest the new king of Egypt would kill him he betook himself to flight. He was at that time in the Delta, and when he ran away from his companions he directed his steps towards the south, that is to say, towards Memphis. He arrived at the Lake of Seneferu, , and slept on the ground that night; when the day came he set out on his way, and overtook a man who was afraid of him, and at sunset he arrived at a certain town or hamlet, and he crossed the Nile in a boat. He was now on the east bank of the river, and directing his steps towards the north he came to the line of fortified outposts on the north-east frontier of Egypt; he hid among the bushes by day, and he travelled by night. At daybreak he arrived at Peten, , and then set out for Qem-ur, , where he nearly died of thirst; when he was suffering agony for want of water he suddenly heard the sounds of cattle, and he saw a foreign man whom he begged to show him the road out of Egypt. The stranger gave him water, and heated some milk for him, and then took him to his tribe; but Sa-nehat had no desire to stay with him, and therefore escaped into Edom, . When Sa-nehat had been there some time with the prince of the Tenu country,

reference was one day made to the death of Àmenemḥāt, whereupon Sa-nehat began to sing a song in honour of the new king Usertsen, wherein he ascribed all power and might and sovereignty to him. The prince of Tenu placed Sa-nehat among his own children and gave him his eldest daughter to wife, and gave him permission to choose for himself certain territory of the best which could be found in a neighbouring district called Àaa . There in that country were vines and fig trees, wine was more abundant than water, honey existed in large quantities, and the olive trees were very numerous, wheat and flour were extremely plentiful, and there all kinds of beasts and cattle flourished. The prince of Tenu was so pleased with Sa-nehat that he made him chief of a tribe, and he daily enjoyed bread, and wine, and roast meat, and fowls, and game, etc.; in this state of luxury he lived for many years, and his children grew up and each became the chief of a tribe.

Meanwhile Sa-nehat's position gave him the opportunity of putting down highway robbers, and the prince of the country made him the general of his army; he marched where he liked, and did what he liked, and the power of life and death was in his hands. On one occasion a mighty man of the people of the country challenged Sa-nehat to combat, and a day was set apart for the duel, which was to be to the death. At dawn on the appointed day all the tribes flocked to see the fight, and every man and every

woman feared for Sa-nehat, for they thought him to be no match for the gigantic Tenu man, who was armed with a shield, a battle-axe, and a case of javelins. When the Tenu man had come forth and was about to hurl himself on Sa-nehat, this brave man shot an arrow from his bow which pierced the giant in the neck, and straightway he fell headlong on his face; Sa-nehat rushed forward and plucked his spear from him, and shouted his cry of victory from upon his back. As a reward for his bravery the prince of the country gave him everything which the dead man possessed. The text now makes the chief Sa-nehat to compare his position as head of a tribe with that in which he found himself when he entered the country, saying, "I was "wandering about dying of thirst, and now I am able "to give bread wheresoever I please. I left my country "naked, and now I am clothed with fine linen. Having "been a man who had taken to flight and who was without servants, I now possess numerous slaves. My "house is a fine one, my territory is great, and memorials "of me are established in the temple of all the gods." In spite of all this, however, Sa-nehat was not satisfied, for he yearned to visit Egypt once more, and he seems to quote part of a letter which he wrote to the king of Egypt asking his permission to return to his native country, and "to see again in the body the place where "his heart had lived," and to lay his body down in the country in which it had been born. He refers to his failing strength, and says that his arms and his legs

refuse to fulfil their duties, and that what his eyes see makes no impression on his brain, and that the day is rapidly approaching when his heart must cease to beat, and when he will be taken to the everlasting habitations and become a follower of the god Osiris. Usertsen I. returned a favourable answer to his old comrade in arms, and sent him gifts, and Sa-nehat preserved in high honour the letter which he received from the king. After referring to his own exalted position, Usertsen I. bids Sa-nehat to leave behind him all his riches, and to come to Egypt and "see the palace, and when thou "shalt be in the palace bow down thyself with thy face "to the ground before Per-āa (literally, the 'Great "House,' Pharaoh). And thou shalt be the chief of "the nobles thereof, and behold, as thou growest old "day by day, and thou losest thy powers, and thou "ponderest upon the day of the funeral, thou shalt arrive "at the state of happiness (i.e., death) when they shall "give thee, on the night when they anoint thee with the "oil of embalmment, the swathings by the hand of the "goddess Tait.[1] They shall follow thy funeral bier on "the day of thy burial, with thy gilded mummy-case "with its head painted blue, and a canopy made of the "wood of the acacia tree spread over thee. The oxen "shall draw thee along, and the mourners shall go before "thee uttering cries of lamentation for thee, and women "seated at the door of thy tomb shall address prayers

[1] This goddess is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, where she appears as the deity who provides bandages for the dead.

"unto thee. They shall offer up the animals for "sacrifice at the mouth of the corridor of thy tomb, and "funeral stelae made of white stone shall be set up "among those of the royal family. Thou shalt have no "equal, and no man shall rise to thy rank; thou shalt "not be buried in a sheepskin [only], for all people shall "smite the earth and lament over thy body as thou goest "to the tomb."

When Sa-nehat received this letter he was overcome with joy, and then and there, with the members of his tribe around him, he threw himself flat upon his stomach on the ground as a sign of his gladness. He then sat down and wrote a letter of thanks and homage to Usertsen I., in which he likened him to all the gods, and uttered the most extravagant compliments, such as, "The sun riseth at thy will, the waters "of the canal water where thou pleasest, and the wind "of heaven bloweth where thou wishest." The letter despatched, Sa-nehat made a great feast in Àaa, at which he handed over all his possessions to his children; his eldest son became the chief of his tribe, and to him he gave his goods, and his cattle, and his gardens, and his orchards. Accompanied by a number of the soldiers whom he had trained, he set out for the south, and in due time he arrived at the Egyptian frontier, and was received by the official in charge, Ḥer-Ḥeru. The arrival of Sa-nehat was announced to the king, who sent a boat laden with gifts for the soldiers who had brought him to the confines of Egypt

in safety. When he arrived at the palace he was received with the greatest respect by all, and every official hastened to do him honour and to perform his will. At length he found himself in the presence of the king, with whose kindness he was quite overwhelmed, for he lost all power of speech and his heart failed him. The king then brought him before the queen and the royal family, some of whom could not believe that the man before them was Sa-nehat; when, however, the king had assured them on this point, they took their collars, and staves, and sistra, and sang a song in honour of the king, and referred in it to the honours which should be paid to Sa-nehat. The royal children then led him into the private apartments of the palace, in which a habitation was set apart for him, and food, and raiment, and unguents, and scents, etc., were provided for him at the expense of the king, and henceforth the aged man had oils wherewith to anoint himself, and perfumes wherewith to scent himself, and fine linen wherewith to array himself, and a bed whereon to sleep, and his physical well-being was assured. The king next gave orders for a pyramid-tomb to be built for Sa-nehat, and the ablest and most skilful of the royal workmen were chosen to carry out the work; in course of time the building was finished, and everything was done to the satisfaction of this highly-favoured old man. What the end of Sa-nehat was we know not, but there is no reason for doubting that his funeral was carried out with all the pomp and ceremony

due to a man who, on his father's side at least, was of royal parentage. Attempts have been made by Brugsch and Chabas and others to identify the various places mentioned in the story of Sa-nehat, but without much success; that he was in some place in the Delta not far from Memphis is evident, and there is no doubt that he made his way into Edom by some well-known desert route. The narrative bears upon every part of it the stamp of truth, for had the tale been one of pure romance, numbers of miraculous events and incidents would have been introduced; as it stands, there is no statement in it which may not be readily admitted to be one of fact.

2.  Rā-kheper-ka, son of the Sun, Usertsen, Σεσόγχωσις.



Ānkh-mestu, the Horus name of Usertsen I.

Usertsen I., the Sesonchosis of Manetho, was the son of Ȧmenemḥāt I., and as has been already said, he was associated with him in the rule of the kingdom in the twentieth year of his reign; Manetho says that he reigned forty-six years, and as we know that he undertook an expedition to the south in the forty-third year of his reign, this statement is probably correct. Prof. Wiedemann has noted [1] a number of monuments dated in the various

[1] *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 241.

years of his reign up to the forty-third, and these prove that his reign was one of great activity.

In the third year of his reign Usertsen re-built, or perhaps re-founded, the famous Temple of the Sun at Ânnu, the On of the Hebrews, and the Heliopolis of the Greeks. This shrine had been a very famous one for centuries, but it seems that during the prolonged struggle between the princes of Thebes and the kings of Herakleopolis the whole place fell into decay, and the worship of the Sun-god declined greatly. Usertsen I. decided to restore the "House of the Sun" to something like its former greatness, and he laid the foundation and set out with a cord the space for, apparently, a new edifice, which he dedicated to Horus-Rā, the rising sun, and to Temu, the god of the setting sun, who had become incarnate in the Mnevis bull. He was assisted in laying the foundations by the "Chief Reader" of the day, who read from a roll of papyrus the necessary instructions, and the ceremony took place in the presence of all the nobles and counsellors of Pharaoh.[1] Of this Temple of the Sun, the priests of which were for centuries renowned for their learning, everything has disappeared except one of the two granite obelisks which Usertsen I. set up in front of it; the city of Heliopolis was destroyed before the Christian era, but the temple was standing, and was in tolerably good

[1] This account is found on a leather roll, which was first translated and published by Stern in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 85 ff.

condition when Strabo visited Egypt. The pyramidia of both obelisks were provided with cases of copper, and, according to Abd al-Laṭîf,[1] these were still *in situ* when he saw them, about A.D. 1200; one of the obelisks was wilfully thrown down by the Muḥammadans before the close of the XIIIth century. The remaining obelisk is sixty-six feet high, and the only legible line of inscriptions left records the names and titles of Usertsen I., and says that he set up the obelisk at a commemoration of a thirty-years' festival. At Begig in the Fayyûm Usertsen I. set up a remarkable granite obelisk, about forty-six feet high, the top of which was rounded, and from the marks which appear upon it the obelisk seems to have been provided with a pointed metal cap; it is now broken into two pieces and lies on the ground. The inscriptions are not strictly vertical, strange to say, and they contain nothing but the names and titles of the king, and the names of the gods Menthu and Ptaḥ of the South Wall;[2] the scenes represent Usertsen I. in the act of adoring certain gods.

The king carried on great architectural works in the city of Tanis in the Delta, and at Abydos, and Karnak, as well as in many other cities. The works at Abydos seem to have been under the direction of the high official Menthu-ḥetep, who, in his stele which was found at Abydos,[3] tells us that he was royal architect and general

[1] De Sacy's translation, p. 181.

[2] The obelisk is figured in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. plate 119.

[3] See Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. ii. plate 23.

surveyor of the district, that he succoured the needy, and protected the poor, and that he was a man both of wisdom and peace. He crushed the enemies of the king in Egypt, he subdued the Āamu and the Ḥeru-shā, he pacified those who dwelt in the Eastern Desert, and he made the people of the south to pay tax and tribute. At the end of the inscription he says that he was the overseer of works in the Temple of Abydos, that he built the house of the god Osiris, and that he dug a well by the command of the majesty of the god Horus. This, as Brugsch has pointed out, is no doubt the fountain to which Strabo refers [1] in his account of the Memnonium, wherein he says that the bottom of the well was reached by a vaulted passage which was roofed over with monolithic stones, and was spacious and well built. The buildings of the Temple of Abydos, which were erected for the king by Menthu-ḥetep, were restored in the XIIIth Dynasty by a governor of the Temple of Abydos called Ȧmeni-seneb, and in the stele of this official we are told that he cleaned the temple, both inside and outside, that he cleared the court-yards, and renewed the decorations of the building, and painted the inscriptions, and renewed everything which Usertsen I. had built.[2] At Karnak Usertsen I. continued the work which his father had begun, and remains of buildings to which he contributed are found at several

[1] Καὶ κρήνη ἐν βάθει κειμένη: xvii. § 42.

[2] Brugsch, *Egypt*, vol. i. p 142.

places between Thebes and the First Cataract. The stele which Champollion discovered at Wâdî Ḥalfa records the names of a number of Nubian tribes that were reduced to subjection by Usertsen I., e.g., Shemik , Khasaâ , Kas , and Shaāt ,[1] etc., and the important inscription in the tomb of Ȧmen-em-ḥāt Ȧmeni at Beni Hasan gives us a good account of the expedition which the king sent to Nubia in the forty-third year of his reign. The quarries of the Wâdî Ḥammâmât were worked during the reign of Usertsen I., and the old turquoise mines at Wâdî Maghâra were re-opened, and new ones were worked at Sarbût al-Khâdîm in the Sinaitic Peninsula. Among other edifices the king built a pyramid tomb for himself, and the remains of it are to be found in the most southerly of the Pyramids at Lisht, about thirty miles to the south of Cairo; in the forty-second year of his reign Usertsen I. associated his son Ȧmenemḥāt with him in the rule of the kingdom.

One of the most important events in the reign of Usertsen I. was, undoubtedly, the expedition to Nubia, and, as the inscription of Ȧmeni referred to above gives a good idea of the historical inscription of the period, a rendering of the most interesting passages in it is given

[1] See Champollion, *Monuments*, p. 693.

here.[1] The inscription is dated in the forty-third year of the king's reign, which equals the twenty-fifth year of the Nome of the Oryx in which Âmeni was governor. He says, "When my lord sailed up the river to over-"throw his enemies in the foreign countries, I followed "after him in the capacity of a *ḥā* prince and royal "chancellor, and I was the commander-in-chief of the "soldiers of the Nome of the Oryx, and I took the "place of my aged father conformably to the favour "and love of the king in his royal house and palace. "I marched through Nubia and sailed southwards, and "I removed the boundary [of Egypt] further to the "south. I brought back the tribute of my lord, and I "was held in the highest favour. His Majesty rose up "and set out in peace, and he overthrew his foes in "the accursed country of Nubia; I followed his Majesty "back, and I was exceedingly skilful, and there was no "loss whatsoever among my soldiers. I sailed up the "river [again] to bring back gold for the majesty of "the king of the South and the North, Usertsen I., "the everliving. I sailed up with the *erpā ḥā* prince, "the eldest son of the king, Âmeni (life, strength, "health!). I sailed up with four hundred picked men "of my army, and I came back in peace, and not a "man was wanting; I brought back the gold which I "was appointed to bring, and I was praised for it in the "house of the king, and the son of the king praised

[1] The latest edition of the text, with a translation, will be found in Newberry's *Beni Hasan*, vol. i plate 7 ff.

"God for me. [Again] I sailed up the river to bring "back marvellous things to the city of Coptos, in "company with the prince and governor Usertsen (life, "strength, health!). I sailed up with six hundred "men, among whom were the bravest men of the Nome "of the Oryx. I returned in peace with my army in "good health, having performed all that I had been "commanded to do."

From the above extracts it is clear that the Egyptians never attempted in the XIIth Dynasty to occupy the country of Kash, i.e., Nubia, as far south as the Fourth Cataract, and that the companies of soldiers which were sent with the officials on such expeditions were only intended to form a guard to protect whatsoever they might succeed in squeezing out of the Nubians as they were bringing their spoil down the river. Comparatively small bodies of men, such as those which Âmeni took with him into the country, would be no match for any stubborn resistance which the Nubians might make, and whatever Âmeni may say about the matter, it is clear that his expeditions were nothing but armed caravans, which made their way south from time to time for purely trading purposes. There must have been some appointed place where the merchants from the south could meet the Egyptians, and where the exchange of commodities was effected, just as in recent times the Dâr Fûr and Kordofân merchants brought their wares to Berber, where the merchants for the north awaited them, and closed their bargains with them.

3.  RĀ-NUB-KAU, son of the Sun, ÀMENEMḤĀṬ, *'Αμμανέμης*.



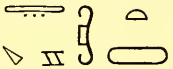
HEKEN-EM-MAĀT, the Horus name of Àmenemḥāt II.

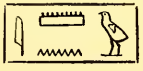
ÀMENEMḤĀṬ II. was associated with his father in the rule of the kingdom two years before he became sole monarch of Egypt, and he is said by Manetho to have reigned thirty-eight years; Wiedemann has noted[1] a number of stelae and other monuments dated in various years of his reign up to the twenty-eighth, and the inscription published by Lepsius[2] proves that he reigned thirty-five years at least. The chief event in the reign of Àmenemḥāt was the working of the old turquoise mines in the Wâdî Maghâra, and the opening of the new ones at Sarbût al-Khâdîm; at this last-named place a strong settlement of Egyptians existed at this time, and a temple to the goddess Hathor was either built for the first time or refounded. Some attempt was certainly made to work the gold mines in Nubia during this reign, for in the text on the stele of Hathor-sa, , in the British Museum[3] (No. 5696), the deceased says, "When I was a young man I made (or,

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

[2] *Auswahl*, pl. 10, No. 4. The 35th year of the reign of Àmenemḥāt II. was the 3rd year of the co-regency of Usertsen II.

[3] See Birch in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 111 ff.

"worked) a mine, and I made the great ones to wash "gold, and I brought back [to Egypt] loads thereof. "I penetrated as far as Ta-kenset, , the "land of the Negroes, and I came there and reduced it "to subjection by means of fear of the lord of the "two lands. I journeyed, moreover, to the land of "Ḥa, , and I went round about the lakes (?) "thereof, and passed through the regions thereof." Brugsch thought that the country here referred to was south of the Second Cataract, and he is probably right. The official Hathor-sa seems to have been employed in the capacity of governor of the south, for he tells us that he was always watching the frontier, and keeping an eye upon his lord's possessions; he was a great favourite with Ȧmenemḥāt II., who commissioned him to complete his partly finished, or, perhaps wrecked, pyramid-tomb, called "Kherp," , which he did in an incredibly short space of time. This statement is based on the assumption that the king Ȧmenu,[1] whose pyramid is mentioned on the stele, is to be identified with Ȧmenemḥāt II.; Brugsch thought that Ȧmenu was a king who reigned during the period which preceded the XIIth Dynasty, but this is very unlikely. In the great inscription in the tomb of prince Khnemu-ḥetep at Beni Hasan, the deceased tells us that Ȧmenemḥāt II. in the nineteenth year of his reign made him a governor

1 

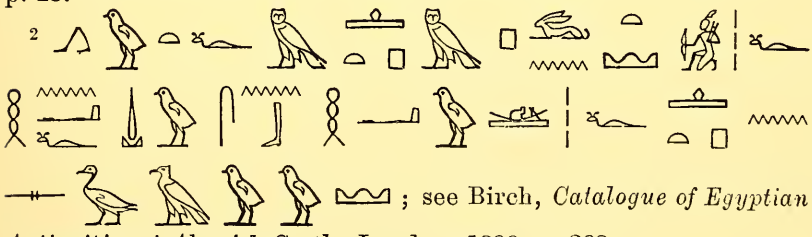
of the city of Menāt-Khufu, and that under the rule of this distinguished official the city prospered and waxed rich. Khnemu-ḥetep spared no pains in commemorating his father's memory, for he established a "ka-chapel," and appointed a priest of the ka, or "double," and richly endowed him with lands and servants. He arranged that a regular supply of offerings should be made at stated times throughout the year, and provided for their maintenance in perpetuity. The king conferred great favours not only upon him, but also upon his eldest son Nekht and his second son Khnemu-ḥetep; the former he made a governor of the Nome of the Jackal, and the latter was taken into high favour by his Majesty.

The prince of Menāt-Khufu built a tomb with a fine hall, wherein were columns and inscriptions, and before it he made a pool of water, in which flowers for the service of the tomb were to be grown; the architect or clerk of the works of the tomb was the overseer of the seal who was called Baqet.[1] In the reign of Ȧmenemḥāt flourished the high official Teḥuti-nekht, who held the highest civil, military, and religious appointments known, and whose tomb at Al-Bersheh has supplied considerable information about the social condition of Egypt at the period in which he lived. The principal scene of interest in his tomb is that in which the hauling of a colossal statue from the quarries of Ḥet-nub to the house of Teḥuti-hetep is

[1] See Newberry, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

represented. The statue was a seated one, and was thirteen cubits high, and must have weighed about sixty tons; it was placed on a wooden sledge to which it was lashed by ropes that were made taut by means of short sticks twisted in them, and breakage of the sharp edges of the statue was prevented by the insertion of pieces of leather under the ropes. It was dragged over a road, specially prepared for this purpose, by about one hundred and sixty-eight men, who hauled at four ropes, forty-two men on each rope,[1] and it seems as if it must have been transported some distance down the river by raft. This scene is of peculiar interest, because it explains the method by which such huge masses of stone were transported from the quarries, and proves that the mechanical means employed for the purpose were extremely simple. In the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Ȧmenemḥāt II., we learn from a stele that the *erpā ḥā* prince Khent-khat-ur, a royal chancellor and overseer of the palace, returned in good health with his soldiers from Punt, and anchored his vessels in safety in Sauu;[2] this fact shows that

[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 134*a*, and for the inscription see Chabas, *Mélanges*, tom. iii., p. 2, and Newberry, *El Bersheh*, i. p. 18.

[2] ; see Birch, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, London, 1880, p. 268.

commercial intercourse was maintained between Punt and Egypt during the reign of Ȧmenemḥāt II., and as no mention is made of fighting it may be assumed that there was peace between the two countries. In the thirty-second year of his reign Ȧmenemḥāt II. associated his son Usertsen II. with him in the rule of the kingdom, and he died a few years later; according to Manetho (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 110), he was slain by his eunuchs. From the facts given above it is clear that there were no great wars undertaken by the Egyptians in the time of this king, and that his reign was as uneventful as that of any of the kings of the XIIth Dynasty.

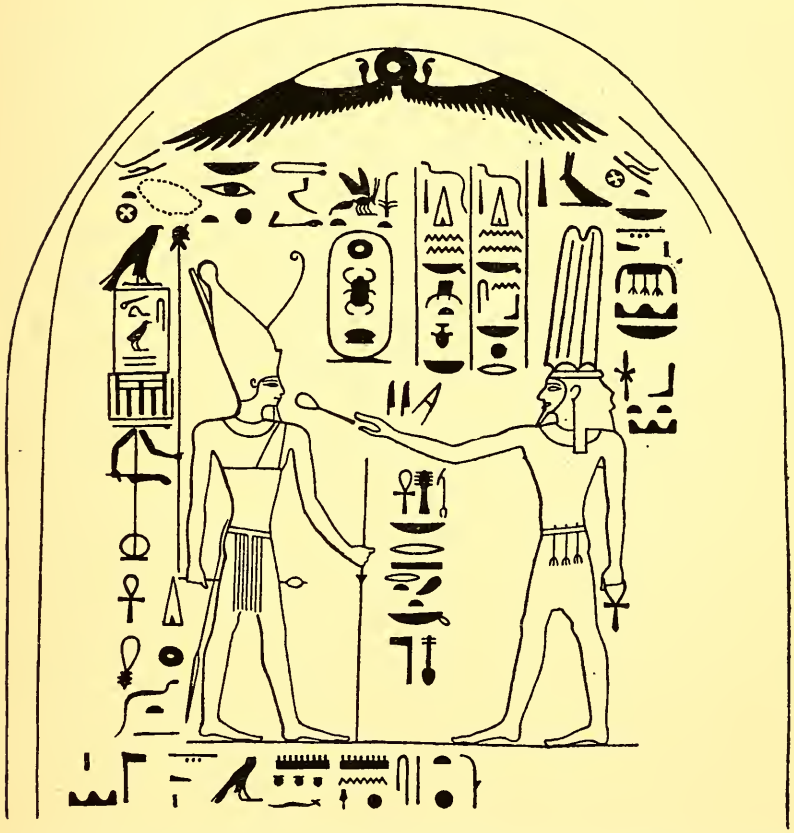
4.  Rā-khā-kheper, son of the Sun, Usertsen, Σέσωστρις.



Semu-taui, the Horus name of Usertsen II.

Usertsen II., the Sesostris of Manetho, is said by this writer to have reigned for forty-eight years. "He conquered "all Asia in nine years, and Europe as "far as Thrace, everywhere erecting "monuments of the conquest of those "nations; among the people who had "acted bravely he set up cippi of a "phallic nature, but among the de- "generate, female emblems of a similar "description engraved upon pillars. By "the Egyptians he is supposed to be the first after

Osiris" (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 110). Usertsen adopted the title of "guide of the two lands" as his Horus name, and he also called himself "the Horus of gold, the repose of the gods," . On the stele of



Usertsen II. receiving the gift of "life" from the god Horus Sept, the lord of the Eastern Desert.

Khnemu-ḥetep,[1] which is dated in the first year of his reign, we see that the standard on which this name is

[1] See Birch, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

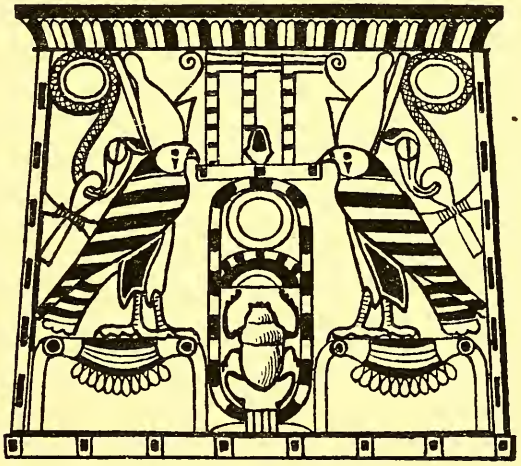
inscribed is provided with the human hands and arms of the *ka*; one hand holds a staff, which is surmounted by a figure of the head of the king, and the other the feather of Maāt. The king is represented standing before Horus Septṭ, the Lord of the Eastern Desert, who is bestowing "life" upon him by touching his lips with the emblem of life. In connection with this stele it is important to note the statement that in the first year of the king's reign his monuments were stablished in Ta-Neter, i.e., the country which lay on each side of the Red Sea and extended to the south as far as Somaliland. The works in the quarries of the First Cataract were carried on during the reign of Usertsen II., and the attacks made by the local Nubians were successfully repulsed by the zealous *erpā ḥā* prince called Menthu-ḥetep, whose stele exists at Aswân.[1]

In this reign flourished also the famous general, or governor of Aswân and the First Cataract, called Sa-renput,[2] who was an "*erpā ḥā* prince, and chan-"cellor, and an only friend, and overseer of the "priests of Satet, the lady of Elephantine, the general-"in-chief of Ta-kens, and overseer of the desert lands;" Sa-renput was a member of a great and noble family, the heads of which seem to have been governors of the "gate of the South" from the earliest days of the

[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 123*d*.

[2] See my account of the clearing of his tomb in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1887, p. 30 ff.

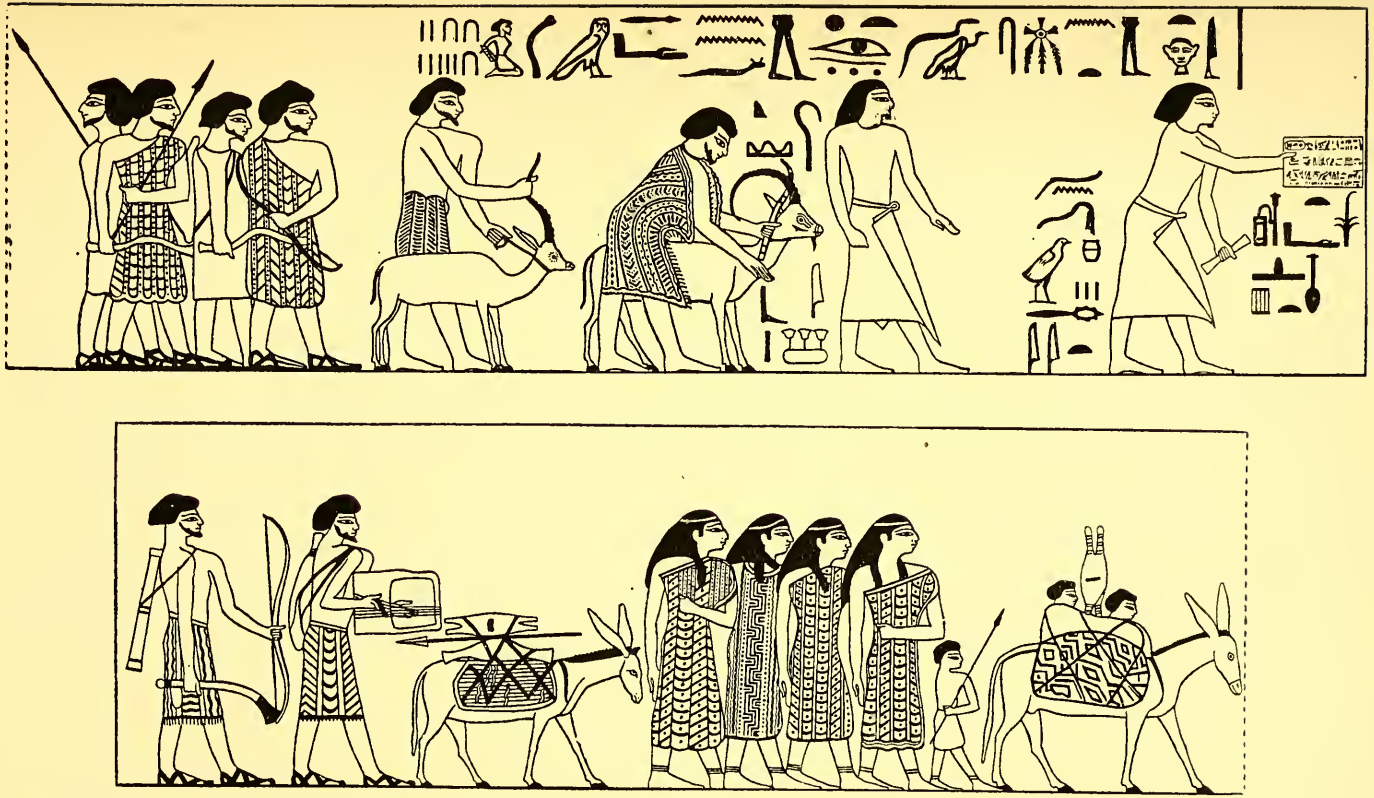
XIIth Dynasty. It is not clear how far south the land of Ta-kens extended in those days, but it seems as if it might well reach nearly as far as the modern Korosko, and as we hear of no war being undertaken against the Nubians at this period, we may assume that Sa-renput and his forefathers were able governors, who made the Nubians to keep the peace.



Enamelled gold plaque with the names of Usertsen II. From Dahshûr. Above the king's prenomen ⊙ 𓋴 𓇳 is his title 𓎛 𓏏𓏏𓏏, and on each side is the Horus of gold, wearing the crowns of the South and North. Behind each hawk is a serpent, from the neck of which hangs the symbol of "life."

One of the most interesting of the events which happened in the days of Usertsen II. is depicted on the north wall of the tomb of Khnemu-ḥetep II., at Beni Hasan. Here we see the deceased and his sons hunting in the desert with bows and arrows, accompanied by a scribe whose duty it was to keep an account of the bag made. Close by we have a colossal figure of Khnemu-

ḥetep, who is engaged in inspecting his cattle, etc. Before him are four rows of human beings, and of these the first row is the most important, for it illustrates a procession of foreign peoples who visited him in the capacity of governor of the town of Menāt-Khufu, and as prince of the Nome of the Oryx. The procession consists of thirty-seven members of the Āamu, a Semitic people or tribe. They are introduced by Nefer-ḥetep, a royal scribe, who holds in his hand a papyrus roll on which is inscribed, "Year six, under the Majesty of the "Horus, the guide of the world, the king of the South "and North, Rā-khā-kheper (i.e., Usertsen II.). List "of the Āamu, brought by the son of the *ḥā* prince "Khnemu-ḥetep, on account of the eye-paint, Āamu of "Shu; a list of thirty-seven [persons]." Behind the scribe stands the official Khati, and behind him the Āamu chief, or desert shêkh; these are followed by the other members of the foreign tribe. The men of the Āamu wear beards, and carry bows and arrows, and both men and women are dressed in garments of many colours. The home of these members of the Āamu was probably situated to the east of Egypt, and may have extended as far north as Palestine, but wheresoever they came from they were certainly men of some position in their own country. Their costume shows that they were not common inhabitants of the desert, and unless their apparel was ceremonial it seems to indicate that the country from which they came was visited by cold nights and days. In this scene some



Scene from the north wall of the tomb of Khnemu-ḥetep II. at Beni Hasan. The royal scribe Nefer-ḥetep is introducing to Khnemu-ḥetep a company of thirty-seven Aamu of Shu, who have come to Egypt bringing with them the famous eye-paint called *mestchemet*. The head of the company is the prince of Absha.

have identified a representation of the arrival of Jacob's sons in Egypt to buy corn, but there is no evidence in support of this theory; others have identified the Āamu with the Hyksos. The company here depicted are probably merchants, who brought eye-paint, *mestch-emet*, , spices, and the like from their own country, and sold their wares to the rich officials of Egypt.

Usertsen II. built for his tomb the Pyramid of Illâhûn, which was opened by Mr. W. Fraser, and satisfactorily identified as the last resting-place of the king. The external construction of the pyramid is peculiar, and unlike any other.[1] It is partly composed of the living rock "which has been dressed into form "up to a height of forty feet," and upon this is erected a portion of the pyramid core, which was built with a framing of cross walls. The walls are of stone in the lower part, and of bricks above. The whole of the filling in of the pyramid bulk between the walls is of mud brick. The opening of the pyramid was attended with considerable trouble, and several months were spent in trying to find the entrance. On the south side, however, a shaft was at length found, and when Mr. Fraser had cleared it out to a depth of about forty feet, he found a doorway on the north side, which led up to the pyramid; the mouth of the shaft was wide and sloping, and was, moreover, much broken.

[1] Petrie, *Illahun*, 1889-90, p. 1.

From measurements made it appears that this shaft could not have been the main one, and that it was only used by the workmen to pass in and out of the "pyramid while the main shaft was blocked with "lowering the stonework;" the doorway at the bottom of Mr. Fraser's shaft is too narrow to have allowed the stone sarcophagus of the king to be taken to its chamber. Quite near to the bottom of the known shaft, on the pyramid side, is a well which was found to be full of very salt water; its use and object are unknown. But it is conjectured that it may have been made either to "catch any rain water running down "the shaft above, like the safety-wells in the tombs of "the kings; or it may have been a water well; or it "may lead to some other passages below." The passage into the pyramid slopes upward, and about half way along it is a chamber which is almost filled with pieces of broken stone. At the end of the passage is a chamber hewn out of the living rock and lined with slabs of limestone, and from this a short passage leads to the granite-lined chamber wherein stands the sarcophagus; from the sarcophagus chamber a passage has been cut, which, by following a series of almost right-angled turns, leads back to the short passage which joins the chamber at the end of the entrance passage with the granite-lined sarcophagus chamber. Its object is unknown, unless it was intended to lead astray those who sought to force a way into the tomb. The sarcophagus is made of red granite, and is provided with a

lip, which projects outwards; it is said to be a wonderfully fine piece of work, and, speaking roughly, measures 8 ft. 11 in. × 4 ft. 2 in. × 2 ft. Before the sarcophagus was the white limestone altar, upon which are inscribed the names and titles of Usertsen II., and invocatory inscriptions addressed to Osiris, lord of Ṭaṭṭu, and to Anubis upon his hill, for sepulchral offerings of cakes and ale, etc. At no great distance from the pyramid of the king stood the town Ḥet-Ḥetep-Usertsen, wherein lived the workmen who built the pyramid; the modern name of the site is Kahûn, and a number of interesting objects have been recovered from the ruins here.[1] The wife of Usertsen II. was called Nefert, , and a statue of her was found at Tanis,[2] whereon many of her titles are inscribed.

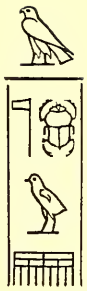
It has already been pointed out that Usertsen II. is called "Sesostris" by Manetho, but it must be noted that many ancient writers apply this name to Rameses the Great, i.e., Rameses II., son of Seti I. In the version of Manetho by Eusebius, Sesostris is said to have have been "four cubits, three palms, and two fingers in height" (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 111), and it is, as Wiedemann has said, difficult not to think that this statement was borrowed from Herodotus, who, in speaking of Sesostris, king of Egypt, says (ii. 105):—"There are

[1] See Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, and *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, London, 1890, 1891.

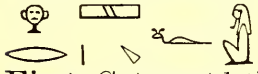
[2] See Brugsch, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1871, p. 125.

"also in Ionia two images of this king, carved on rocks, "one on the way from Ephesia to Phocaea, the other "from Sardis to Smyrna. In both places a man is "carved, four cubits and a half high, holding a spear "in his right hand, and in his left a bow, and the "rest of his equipment in unison, for it is partly "Egyptian and partly Ethiopian." As far as we know now, there is no monumental evidence to show that Usertsen II. ever made any warlike expeditions into Syria, still less into Europe, and the general description of the exploits of Sesostris is more applicable to Rameses II. than to Usertsen II. In one particular, however, Usertsen II. seems to have justified the statement made by Herodotus about him. This writer says (ii. 102) that the priests told him that Sesostris was the first who, setting out in ships of war from the Arabian Gulf, subdued those nations that dwelt by the Red Sea, and of these words we may perhaps see a confirmation in the tablet of the official Khnemu-ḥetep, who says that in the first year of his reign, Usertsen II. set up monuments of himself in the "Land of god," i.e., the country on both sides of the Red Sea and as far south as Somaliland.

5.  Rā-khā-kau, son of the Sun, Usertsen, *Λαχάρης*.

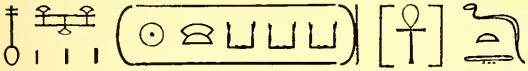


NETER-KHEPERU, the Horus name of Usertsen III.

USERTSEN III. was associated with his father in the rule of the kingdom for some years before he became sole king of Egypt, and the King List of Manetho is in error when it assigns to his reign a length of eight years only. The monuments show that, in addition to the ordinary royal titles, he adopted as his Horus name the epithet of "divine of transformations" (or, becomings), and to the title "Horus of gold" he added the beetle, the emblem of the god Kheperà, . A rock inscription at Aswân, dated in the tenth year of his reign, indicates that work went on in the quarries there, and another in the Wâdî Hammâmât, dated in the fourteenth year, mentions that the king sent there for stone to use in the building of the temple at Herakleopolis, which he dedicated to the great god of the city Ḥer-shef, . On the Island of Sâhel in the First Cataract[1] the king is represented in the act of receiving life from the goddess Ānqet, who promises to give him "life, stability, and health, like the sun, for ever."

A very important inscription, which was discovered by the late Mr. E. C. Wilbour on the same island, says that in the eighth year of Usertsen

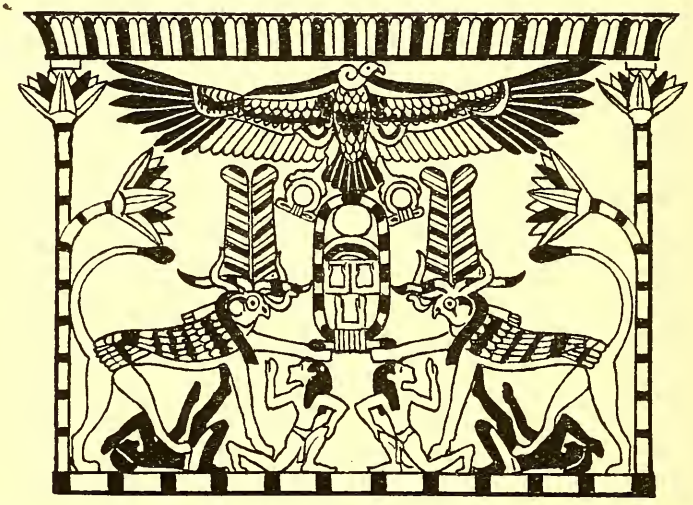
[1] See the inscriptions of the reign of this king in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. pl. 136.

III., his majesty ordered a canal to be made anew, , and that he gave to it the name "Good "are the paths of Usertsen [III., living] for ever," ; this canal was 250 ft. 4 in. long, 34 ft. 7 in. wide, and 25 ft. 10 in. deep. When this had been done, the king sailed up the river to overthrow the abominable country of Kash (Nubia). Two other inscriptions close at hand tell us that Thothmes I. passed through this canal on the way to Nubia to punish the natives in the third year of his reign, and that Thothmes III., in the fiftieth year of his reign, caused this same canal to be reopened after it had become blocked; he gave it a new name, i.e., "Open the good path of Thothmes (III.) living for ever," and made a law to the effect that the boatmen of Elephantine were to clean out this canal every year.[1] It seems that this canal must have been in existence during the VIth Dynasty, and that it became stopped up from time to time, for it is undoubtedly of some work which he performed in connection with it that Unà boasts in his inscription, to which we have already referred (see Vol. II. p. 103). No trace of this canal has been found in recent days, nor of the works which the high official Âmeni declares that he performed in connection with the quay of Elephantine, when Usertsen III. was on his way into Nubia.[2]

[1] For the texts see *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. xiii. pp. 202, 203.

[2] See Birch, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1875, p. 50.

This expedition must have been very successful, for the king pressed as far south as the foot of the Second Cataract, where a boundary stone or landmark was set. Allusion to this boundary stone is made on a stele[1] whereon it is said, "This is the "frontier of the south which was fixed in the eighth



Enamelled gold plaque with the prenomen of Usertsen III., ☉ 𓋴 𓎛𓎛𓎛. From Dahshûr. In the upper part is the vulture-goddess holding the symbol of eternity, ♀, in each claw. The king, in the form of two hawk-headed sphinxes, with horns, uraei, and plumes, is seen slaughtering his fair-skinned foes, whilst he tramples upon the Nubians with his feet. The roof of the shrine is supported by pillars with lotus capitals.

"year of Usertsen III., who liveth for ever and ever." It prohibited every negro from passing that spot, whether by sailing down the river or marching along its banks, as well as the passage of all oxen, and

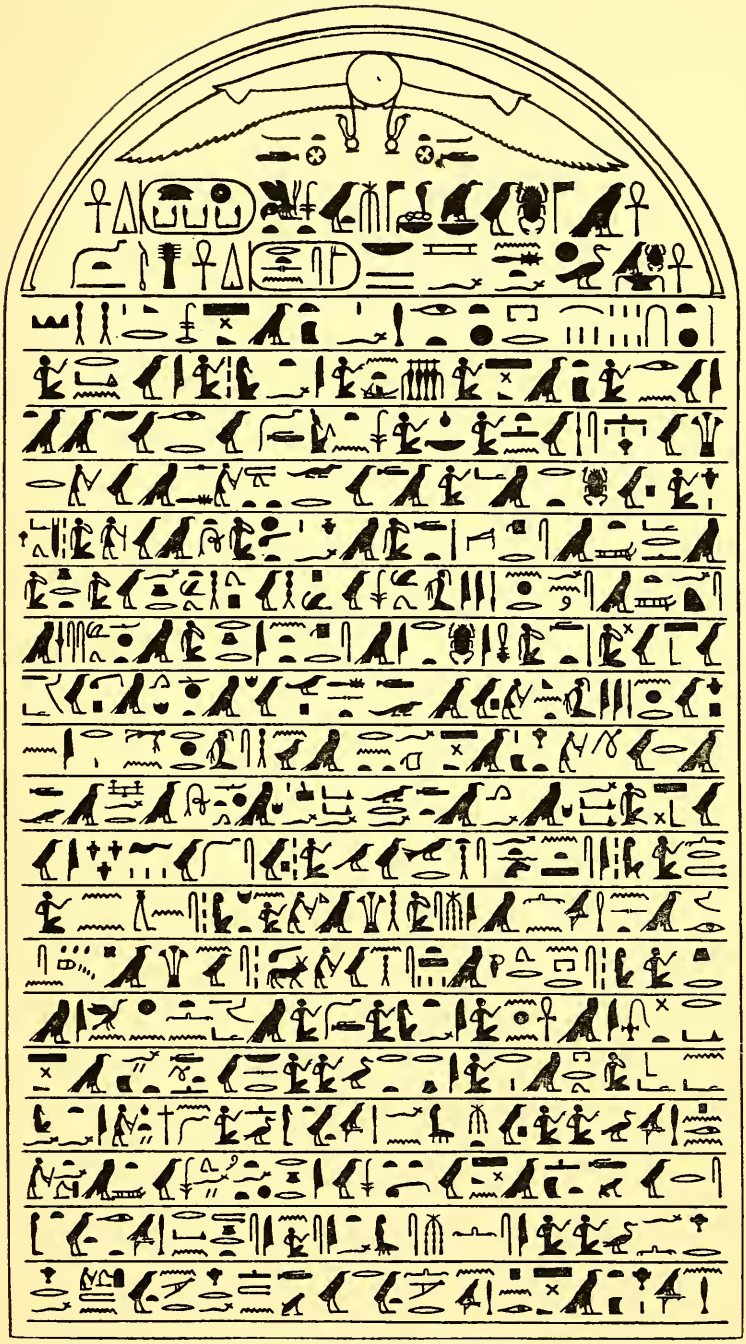
[1] See Lepsius, *op. cit.*, ii. pl. 136.

sheep, and goats, and asses, except all such as were engaged in the traffic in cattle, and such as had need to come to Egypt for the purposes of barter and of business generally. No boat of any kind whatsoever with negroes in it was allowed to pass that boundary stone.

In the sixteenth year of his reign Usertsen III. reduced the country of the Nubians to a most pitiable condition, and, on the boundary stone already referred to, he says, "Year 16, the third month of the season "Pert. His Majesty fixed the boundary of the South "at Ḥeḥ. I made my boundary, I advanced [beyond] "my fathers. I added much thereunto, and I passed "the decree. I am a king, and what is said [by me] is "done. What my heart conceived my hand brought to "pass. [I am] a crocodile to seize, and [I] beat down "mercilessly, and [I] never relinquish [my prey]. The "words which are in his heart are applauded by the "impotent who rely upon mercy [being shown to them], "but he showeth none to the enemy. He attacketh "him that cometh against him in attack; he is silent "to him that is silent; and he returneth answer "according to what hath happened in a matter. Now "inaction (or, silence) after an attack giveth strength "unto the heart of the enemy; vigorous must be the "[counter] attack, for vile is he who turneth back and "retreateth. The man who is beaten upon his own "territory is a coward. Therefore the negro falleth "down prostrate at the word which falleth from the "mouth, and behold, a word in answer maketh him to

"turn back, and if he be attacked he giveth his back "[to his attacker] even after he hath gone forth to "attack. They are not men of boldness, but are poor "and feeble, having nothing but buttocks for hearts. "I the Majesty have looked upon them, and [what I "say] is not a word [of falsehood]. I seized their "women, I carried off their folk, I marched to their "wells, I slew their cattle, and I destroyed their crops "and burnt their corn. By my own life, and by that "of my father, I swear that what I am saying is the "truth, and what cometh forth from my mouth cannot "be gainsaid. Whosoever among my sons shall pre-"serve this boundary which my Majesty hath made "shall be [called] my son and the son who is begotten "by me, and the son who avengeth his father and "preserveth the boundary which he hath set; but he "who relaxeth it, and doeth not battle for it, shall not "be [called] my son, nor one begotten of me. And "behold, my Majesty hath caused a statue of my "Majesty to be set up on this boundary, not only with "the desire that ye should worship it, but that ye should "do battle for it."[1] The boundary stone, upon which is inscribed the text rendered into English above, as well as that containing the decree against the passage of the negroes of Nubia, was set up near the famous forts at Semneh and Kummeh which were built by Usertsen

[1] The text is in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. pl. 136; a German rendering of it will be found in Brugsch, *Geschichte*, p 776, and an English version in *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 324.



Stele, dated in the 16th year of the reign of Usertsen III., recording the victory of this king over the Nubians.

III. about forty miles to the south of the modern town of Wâdî Ḥalfa. The fort of Semneh is on the west bank, and that of Kummeh on the east bank of the Nile; they formed two of a series of fortified outposts which Usertsen III. established at and along the Second Cataract as far north as Buhen, which faced the modern town of Wâdî Ḥalfa. The forts of Semneh and Kummeh occupied positions of extreme strategical importance, for they commanded a magnificent outlook both north and south, and beyond the river banks, as well as up and down the river itself. The stronger position was that of Kummeh, where the natural strength of the place rendered a well-built fort almost impregnable. At Semneh, which is called in the hieroglyphic texts "Semennu-kherp-Khā-kau-Rā," , Usertsen III. built a temple which was restored by Thothmes III. and Amenophis III.; it consisted of a single chamber, which measured about 30 feet by 12 feet. At Kummeh are the ruins of a larger temple which, however, dates from the XVIIIth Dynasty. We have no means of knowing what was the strength of the garrison which the king kept at Semneh and Kummeh, but it need not have been very great, for the stream narrows considerably at this spot, and a comparatively small number of determined men could easily prevent the boats of the negroes from forcing a passage through any of the channels between the forts.

The wars carried on by Usertsen III. against the

Nubians did not prevent this king from building a temple in honour of the god Ḥer-shef of Herakleopolis, and, according to Manetho (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 112), "he built the Labyrinth "in the Arsenoïte Nome "as a tomb for himself;" it is quite possible that Manetho is correct in this particular, but as the name of Ȧmenemḥāt III. is commonly associated with this marvellous building reference will be made to it in the section on the reign of that king. Usertsen III. repaired or rebuilt parts of the temples at Tanis, Bubastis, Abydos, and Elephantine, and his name is found upon parts of buildings in many other cities of Egypt. He is also thought to have built



Scene from the temple built at Semneh, in the Second Cataract, by Usertsen III., and restored by Thothmes III. Usertsen III. giving "life" to Thothmes III.

for his tomb at Dahshûr the more northerly of the two brick pyramids, which are commonly called the "Black Pyramids"; this pyramid was once covered with stone and must have been a fine example of its class, but it has suffered much at the hands of the spoiler, and its ruins are now less than ninety feet in height. The excavations, which M. J. de Morgan carried on at Dahshûr in 1894 (March to June), resulted in the discovery of a number of tombs of royal ladies who were the wives and daughters of Usertsen, and it is only reasonable to assume that if these were buried round about the pyramid,[1] the king himself was buried in it. If Usertsen II. be identified with Sesostris, then his son Usertsen III., or Lachares, must be identified with the Nachares of the Christian chronographers in whose reign the patriarch Abraham is said to have come into Egypt; Usertsen III. may also be identified with the king Nencoreus, the son of Sesodes, or with Pheros, the son of Sesostris, each of whom is said to have dedicated obelisks one hundred cubits high at Heliopolis, but, as Wiedemann[2] has said, these identifications are not supported by any materials now available.

6. 

Rā-en-Maāt, son of the Sun, Åmen-em-ḥāt, Ἀμερής.

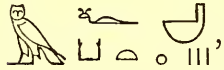
[1] See J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, Vienna, 1895.

[2] See Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.*, p. 253; and Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 26.



ĀĀ-BAIU, the Horus name of Âmen-em-ḥāt III.

Âmenemḥāt III., the son and successor of Usertsen III., was the greatest of all the kings of the XIIth Dynasty; he is the Ameres of Manetho, who is clearly in error when he states the length of his reign to have been eight years only, for a stele at Sarbût al-Khâdîm in the Sinaitic Peninsula mentions his forty-fourth year, and there is good reason for believing that his reign lasted nearer fifty than eight years. The mighty works which he carried out in Egypt show that he deserved the title, "Horus, mighty of will (or soul)," which he assumed as his Horus name, and his people, no doubt, when they considered what help he had given them by his great irrigation schemes, saw the appropriateness of another of his titles, "The Horus of gold, sweet life," . The whole of the energies of this king appear to have been devoted to improving the irrigation system of his country, and as a natural result he had little leisure for carrying on wars against either the Nubians, or the warlike nomad Ḥeru-shā of the Eastern Desert. His predecessor had effectually quieted the former people, and the latter had hardly recovered from the punishment which had been inflicted upon them by earlier kings. Âmenemḥāt III. found Egypt in a state of great prosperity when he ascended the throne, and as the land had rest during his long reign, he was able to leave his country in a most flourishing

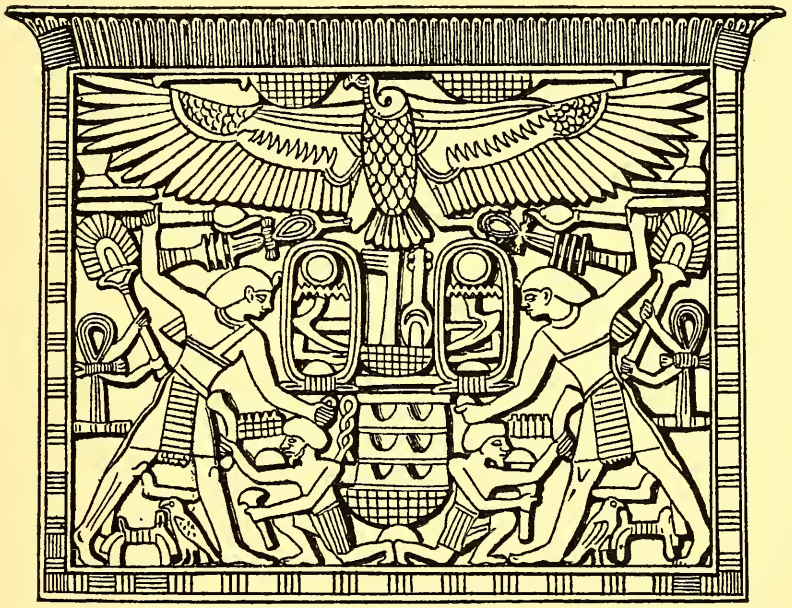
condition at his death. Art, sculpture, and architecture flourished under his fostering care, and the remains of his buildings and inscribed monuments testify to the activity which must have prevailed among all classes of handicraftsmen during his reign. The mines in the Sinaitic Peninsula and in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât were diligently worked, and the quantity of stone removed from the quarries in the latter must have been prodigious. On a rock at Sarbût al-Khâdîm is cut a scene,[1] dated in the first year of the king's reign, in which we see "Hathor, the lady of turquoises," presenting "life" to him. A stele, dated in the second year, recording that an official had been sent there with seven hundred and thirty-four men to fetch turquoise ore, , is in the Wâdî Maghâra;[2] dated in the same year, a stele in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât mentions an expedition sent there by the king under the leadership of one Àmen-em-ḥât, the son of Àbeb, who seems to have had some trouble with the natives. An inscription in the same place, dated in the nineteenth year, speaks of a mission undertaken to obtain stone for the Temple of Sebek, , at Crocodilopolis,[3] and says that a piece of stone suitable for a statue five cubits high had been obtained. The stone hewn in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât was intended for statues and large slabs for pylons, etc., whilst that which was used

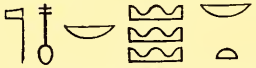
[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 137*a*.

[2] *Ibid.*, *c*.

[3] *Ibid.*, plate 138*c* and *e*.

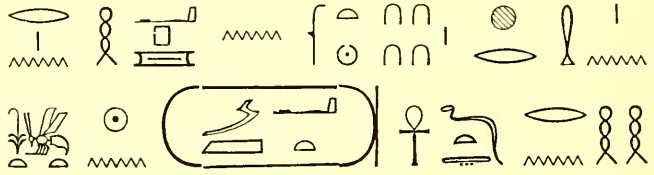
in the construction of the famous Labyrinth was obtained from the quarries of Ṭura; this fact is indicated by the partially erased stele which was set up there during the reign of Åmenemḥāt III. by a high official.



Enamelled gold plaque with prenomen and titles of Åmen-em-ḥāt III. From Dahshûr. In the upper part is the vulture-goddess with outstretched wings, and above her are two axes. Below her are two cartouches, each containing the king's prenomen, , and between them is his title, "beautiful god, lord of all foreign lands," . The king is represented in the act of smiting with a club his foes who kneel at his feet, and strength is given to his arms by the goddess who touches them with , i.e., the emblems of "life" and "stability" which she holds in each claw. Behind each figure of the king is the sign for "life," with human arms and hands, which grasp a fan and waft breaths of "life" to him.

Inscriptions are found in the above-mentioned quarries, which prove that the king's activity in building continued throughout the whole of his reign.

Most important, however, of all the rock inscriptions belonging to the reign of this king are those which are found on the rocks near the Forts of Usertsen III. at Semneh and Kummeh, and which record the height to which the Nile rose during a number of years which are duly specified. These inscriptions show that at that time the river level during the inundation was about twenty-six feet higher than it is at the present time, and they apparently indicate that they were hewn by the orders of Ȧmenemḥāt III., who seems to have endeavoured to understand the effects upon the agriculture of Egypt caused by inundations of varying heights. It is possible that the inscriptions may have been connected in some way with the working of Lake Moeris, and with the regulating of the outflow of its waters; they are dated in years 3, 5, 7, 9, 14, 15, 22, 23, 24, 30, 32, 37, 40, 41, and 43 of the king's reign, and the following example will illustrate the class:—



Inscription of the 41st year of Ȧmenemḥāt III.[1]

"Mouth (i.e., level) of Ḥāp (the Nile) of the 41st "year under the Majesty of the king of the South and "North, Maāt-en-Rā, living for ever and ever." In a

[1] See Lepsius, *op. cit.*, plate 139.

few cases[1] the sign  has a line running through it thus , a fact which seems to show that the line represented the exact level which the water reached in the year mentioned. Various explanations have been put forward of the extraordinary change which appears

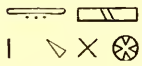


Head of a statue of Ȧmen-em-ḥāt III. in the possession of General Sir F. W. Grenfell, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc.

to have taken place in the level of the Nile between the time of Ȧmenemḥāt III. and our own, but none of them clears away all the difficulties in the matter.

The greatest and most useful of all the great works which were undertaken by Ȧmenemḥāt was the making

[1] E.g., Nos. *i*, *k*, *l*.

of Lake Moeris[1] in that part of Egypt which is now called, in Arabic, Al-Fayyûm, the capital of which, Wasṭa, is about fifty-five miles south of Cairo; the name Moeris is derived from the Egyptian Mu-ur, "great water," , or Mer-ur, "Great canal," ,[2] and the name Fayyûm is derived from the Egyptian Pa-iumā, , i.e., "the lake," through the Coptic form ⲫⲓⲟⲙ, which has the same meaning. The ancient name of the district in which Lake Moeris was situated was Ta-she, , i.e., the "Land of the Lake," and this land seems to have been reclaimed from the desert by the genius and energy of Ȧmenemḥāt III., who made the lake; the last remaining portion of Lake Moeris is the Birket al-Ḳarûn with its water surface about 130 feet below sea level; its cubic contents are equal to 1,500,000,000 cubic metres. The largest circumference of Lake Moeris was about 150 miles; its area was about 750 square miles, and its average level was about 80 feet above the Mediterranean. The Fayyûm district is watered by the canal called

[1] For an ancient Egyptian plan of Lake Moeris see Mariette, *Papyrus de Boulaq*, and Lanzone, *Les Papyrus du Lac Moeris*, Turin, 1896.

[2] Other names of the Lake were  "Sheṭet," i.e., the "Lake," and  "Shet-urt," i.e., "Great Lake."

Baḥr Yusuf,[1] which, leaving the Nile a little to the north of Asyûṭ, and passing through a narrow gap in the Libyan Mountains, enters the Fayyûm after a course of about 200 miles. The following are the descriptions of Lake Moeris given by some classical authors:—

"Although this labyrinth is such as I have described, "yet the lake named from Moeris, near which this "labyrinth is built, occasions greater wonder: its cir- "cumference measures 3600 stades, or sixty schoenes, "equal to the sea-coast of Egypt. The lake stretches "lengthways, north and south, being in depth in the "deepest part fifty orgyae. That it is made by hand "and dry, this circumstance proves, for about the "middle of the lake stand two pyramids, each rising "fifty orgyae above the surface of the water, and the "part built under water extends to an equal depth: on "each of these is placed a stone statue, seated on a "throne. Thus these pyramids are one hundred "orgyae in height; and a hundred orgyae are "equal to a stade of six plethra; the orgya measur- "ing six feet, or four cubits; the foot being four "palms, and the cubit six palms. The water in this "lake does not spring from the soil, for these parts are "excessively dry, but it is conveyed through a channel

[1] Attempts have been made to prove that this canal was made by the patriarch Joseph, but no satisfactory evidence in favour of the theory is forthcoming; the Joseph here referred to is probably the Muḥammadan ruler who is mentioned in so many Arabic histories.

"from the Nile,[1] and for six months it flows into the "lake, and six months out again into the Nile. And "during the six months that it flows out it yields a "talent of silver every day to the king's treasury from "the fish; but when the water is flowing into it, "twenty minae. The people of the country told me "that this lake discharges itself under ground into the "Syrtis of Libya, running westward towards the "interior by the mountain above Memphis." (Herodotus, ii. 149.)

"The Lake Moeris, by its magnitude and depth, is "able to sustain the superabundance of water, which "flows into it at the time of the rise of the river, without overflowing the inhabited and cultivated parts of "the country. On the decrease of the water of the "river, it distributes the excess by the same canal at "each of the mouths; and both the lake and canal "preserve a remainder, which is used for irrigation. "These are the natural and independent properties of "the lake, but, in addition, on both mouths of the "canal are placed locks, by which the engineers store "up and distribute the water which enters or issues "from the canal." (Strabo, xvii. 37.)

"Between Arsinoïtes and Memphites, a lake, 250 "miles, or, according to what Mucianus says, 450 miles "in circumference and fifty paces deep, has been "formed by artificial means: after the king by whose

[1] This statement proves that the canal which fed Lake Moeris was already in existence in the time of Herodotus.

"orders it was made, it is called by the name of "Moeris. The distance from thence to Memphis is "nearly sixty-two miles." (Pliny, v. 9.) "In the "place where Lake Moeris was excavated, an immense "artificial piece of water, cited by the Egyptians "among their wondrous and memorable works." (Pliny, xxxvi. 16.)

"After the death of this king [Uchoreus], and twelve "descents, Meris came to the crown of Egypt, and built "a portico in Memphis towards the north, more stately "and magnificent than any of the rest. And, a little "above the city, he cut a dyke for a pond, bring- "ing it down in length from the city three hundred "and twenty-five furlongs, whose use was admirable, "and the greatness of the work incredible. They say "it was in circuit three thousand and six hundred "furlongs; and in many places three hundred feet in "depth. For being that the Nile never kept to a "certain and constant height in its inundation, and the "fruitfulness of the country ever depended upon its "just proportion, he dug this lake to receive such "water as was superfluous, that it might neither "immoderately overflow the land, and so cause fens "and standing ponds, nor by flowing too little, pre- "judice the fruits of the earth for want of water. To "this end he cut a trench along from the river into the "lake, fourscore furlongs in length, and three hundred "feet broad; into this he let the water of the river "sometimes run, and at other times diverted it, and

"turned it over the fields of the husbandmen, at "seasonable times, by means of sluices which he some- "times opened, and at other times shut up, not without "great labour and cost; for these sluices could not be "opened or shut at a less charge than fifty talents. "This lake continues to the benefit of the Egyptians "for these purposes to our very days, and is called the "lake of Myris or Meris to this day. The king left a "place in the middle of the lake, where he built a "sepulchre and two pyramids, one for himself, and "another for his queen, a furlong in height; upon the "top of which he placed two marble statues seated in a "throne, designing, by these monuments, to perpetuate "the fame and glory of his name to all succeeding "generations. The revenue arising from the fish taken "in this lake, he gave to his wife to buy her dresses, "which amounted to a talent of silver every day. For "there were in it two-and-twenty sorts of fish, and so "vast a number were taken, that those who were "employed continually to salt them up (though they "were multitudes of people), could hardly perform it." (Diodorus Siculus, i. 4.)

The next great work of Ȧmenemḥāt III. was the famous Labyrinth, of which the following descriptions have been given by classical authors :—

"Now, they [i.e., the twelve kings] determined to "leave in common a memorial of themselves; and "having so determined, they built a LABYRINTH, a "little above the Lake of Moeris, situated near that

"called the city of Crocodiles; this I have myself seen,
"and found it greater than can be described. For if
"any one should reckon up the buildings and public
"works of the Grecians, they would be found to have
"cost less labour and expense than this Labyrinth;
"though the temple in Ephesus is deserving of men-
"tion, and also that in Samos. The pyramids likewise
"were beyond description, and each of them comparable
"to many of the great Grecian structures. Yet the
"labyrinth surpasses even the pyramids. For it has
"twelve courts enclosed with walls, with doors opposite
"each other, six facing the north, and six the south,
"contiguous to one another, and the same exterior wall
"encloses them. It contains two kinds of rooms, some
"under ground and some above ground over them, to
"the number of three thousand, fifteen hundred of each.
"The rooms above ground I myself went through and
"saw, and relate from personal inspection. But the
"underground rooms I only know from report; for the
"Egyptians who have charge of the building would, on
"no account, show me them, saying, that there were
"the sepulchres of the kings who originaily built this
"labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles. I can there-
"fore only relate what I have learnt by hearsay
"concerning the lower rooms; but the upper ones,
"which surpass all human works, I myself saw; for the
"passages through the corridors, and the windings
"through the courts, from their great variety, pre-
"sented a thousand occasions of wonder, as I passed

"from a court to the rooms, and from the rooms to "halls, and to other corridors from the halls, and to "other courts from the rooms. The roofs of all these "are of stone, as are also the walls; but the walls are "full of sculptured figures. Each court is surrounded "with a colonnade of white stone, closely fitted. And "adjoining the extremity of the Labyrinth is a pyramid, "forty orgyae in height, on which large figures are "carved, and a way to it has been made under ground." (Herodotus, ii. 148.)

"We have here also the Labyrinth, a work equal to "the Pyramids, and adjoining to it the tomb of the king "who constructed the Labyrinth. After proceeding "beyond the first entrance of the canal about thirty or "forty stadia, there is a table-shaped plain, with a "village and a large palace composed of as many "palaces as there were formerly nomes. There are an "equal number of aulae, surrounded by pillars, and "contiguous to one another, all in one line and forming "one building like a long wall having the aulae in "front of it. The entrances into the aulae are opposite "to the wall. In front of the entrances there are long "and numerous covered ways, with winding passages "communicating with each other, so that no stranger "could find his way into the aulae or out of them "without a guide. The (most) surprising circumstance "is that the roofs of these dwellings consist of a single "stone each, and that the covered ways through their "whole range were roofed in the same manner with

"single slabs of stone of extraordinary size, without "the intermixture of timber or of any other material. "On ascending the roof,—which is not of great height, "for it consists only of a single story,—there may be "seen a stone field, thus composed of stones. Descend- "ing again and looking into the aulae, these may be "seen in a line supported by twenty-seven pillars, each "consisting of a single stone. The walls also are "constructed of stones not inferior in size to these." (Strabo, xvii. 37.)

"There is still in Egypt, in the Nome of Herakleo- "polites, a Labyrinth, which was the first constructed, "three thousand six hundred years ago, they say, by "King Petesuchis or Tithöes: although, according to "Herodotus, the entire work was the production of no "less than twelve kings, the last of whom was "Psammetichus. As to the purpose for which it was "built, there are various opinions: Demoteles says that "it was the palace of King Moteris, and Lyceas that it "was the tomb of Moeris, while many others assert "that it was a building consecrated to the Sun, an "opinion which mostly prevails. They [i.e., the Laby- "rinths of Egypt, Crete, Lemnos, and Italy] are all of "them covered with arched roofs of polished stone; at "the entrance, too, of the Egyptian Labyrinth, a thing "that surprises me, the building is constructed of "Parian marble, while throughout the other parts of it "the columns are of syenites. With such solidity is "this huge mass constructed, that the lapse of ages has

"been totally unable to destroy it, seconded as it has "been by the people of Herakleopolites, who have "marvellously ravaged a work which they have always "held in abhorrence. To detail the position of this "work and the various portions of it is quite impossible, "it being subdivided into regions and praefectures, "which are styled nomes, thirty in number, with a "vast palace assigned to each. In addition to these, it "should contain temples of all the gods of Egypt, and "forty statues of Nemesis in as many sacred shrines; "besides numerous pyramids, forty ells in height, and "covering six arurae at the base. Fatigued with "wandering to and fro, the visitor is sure to arrive at "some inextricable crossing or other of the galleries. "And then, too, there are banquetting rooms situate at "the summit of steep ascents; porticos from which we "descend by flights of ninety steps; columns in the "interior, made of porphyrites; figures of gods; statues "of kings; and effigies of hideous monsters. Some of "the palaces are so peculiarly constructed, that the "moment the doors are opened a dreadful sound like "that of thunder reverberates within: the greater part, "too, of these edifices have to be traversed in total "darkness. One person, and only one, has made some "slight repairs to the Labyrinth; Chaeremon, an "eunuch of king Necthebis, who lived five hundred "years before the time of Alexander the Great. "It is asserted, also, that while the arched roofs "of squared stone were being raised, he had them

"supported by beams of thorn boiled in oil." (Pliny, xxxvi. 19.)

"After the death of this king [Actisanes], the "Egyptians recovered their liberty, and set up a king "of their own nation to rule over them, Mendes (whom "some call Marus), who never undertook any warlike "design, but made a sepulchre for himself called a "Labyrinth, not to be admired so much for its greatness, "as it was inimitable for its workmanship. For he "that went in, could not easily come out again, without "a very skilful guide." (Diodorus Siculus, i. 5.)

The Labyrinth seems to have been neither more nor less than a large temple which was built by Ámenemḥāt to the south of his tomb-pyramid, which is perhaps best known by the name of the "Pyramid of Hawâra"; that it contained a very large number of comparatively small chambers is certain, and it is probable that one of these, or perhaps a group, represented a nome or division of Egypt, and that in the whole collection of chambers the whole of the gods of Egypt were represented. According to the ancient Egyptian map of Lake Moeris,[1] this body of water was supposed to be divided into sections, which were presided over by different deities, and it is possible that the Labyrinth was broken up into sections in the same manner. Many travellers have endeavoured to identify the site of the Labyrinth, and Lepsius believed that he had found the ruins of the building near Ḥawâra, in the

[1] See above, p. 48, note 1.

remains of a large number of square chambers and granite slabs which were inscribed with the name of Ȧmenemḥāt. On the other hand, Prof. Petrie thinks that the ruins which Lepsius found were only the remains of the houses and tombs of the population that destroyed the Labyrinth,[1] and he thinks that this great building lay between the entrance to the Fayyûm and the capital Crocodilopolis. As all writers agree in placing the Labyrinth near a pyramid, and the only pyramid anywhere between the mouth of the canal and Crocodilopolis is that of Ḥawâra, this evidence seems conclusive. The extent of the area of the Labyrinth is probably marked by the immense bed of chips of fine white limestone which lies on the south of the pyramid, and on tracing this bed to its limits, it is found that they cover an area which measures 1000 by 800 feet. The principal part of the pavement to be seen is in the eastern half of the site, and some years ago it covered a tolerable space; but the builders of the railway into the Fayyûm discovered the place, and took the stones away to build the line; thus the last remains of the wonderful building disappeared under the process of "civilizing" Egypt. The building seems to have been square, with additional structures on the east; it had a great front wall, and a great cross wall along the middle; the level was uniform, except along the north edge and at the N.E. outbuildings; red granite columns were used, but probably only in the

[1] See *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*, p. 5.

northern part of the site; and built pillars, rather than monolith columns, seem to belong to the part south of the cross wall.[1] The builder of the Labyrinth was, beyond doubt, Ȧmenemḥāt III., who, in the nineteenth year of his reign, sent an expedition, consisting of two thousand men, to the Wâdî Ḥammâmât to fetch stone to be used in its construction; it is, of course, possible that Usertsen III. had built a temple there previously; if this be so, it would account for the statement of Manetho. The Labyrinth was dedicated to the god Sebek, to whom the crocodile was sacred, and for this reason the god is always represented with the head of this animal. Brugsch wished to derive the name Labyrinth from the Egyptian words "Erpa (or elpa) re ḥent," i.e. the "Temple at the mouth of the canal," but this derivation is not accepted,[2] and it seems that we must look for it in Greek and not in Egyptian.

Ȧmenemḥāt III. seems to have been buried in the so-called Pyramid of Ḥawâra, although another view is that his tomb is represented by the southern brick pyramid at Dahshûr. The Pyramid of Ḥawâra was opened by Prof. Petrie[3] in 1889, and its plan of construction is of considerable interest. The building stands on a spur of the limestone plateau which forms one side of the entrance of the depression which leads into the Fayyûm. The greater part of the pyramid

[1] Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[2] Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 260; Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 26.

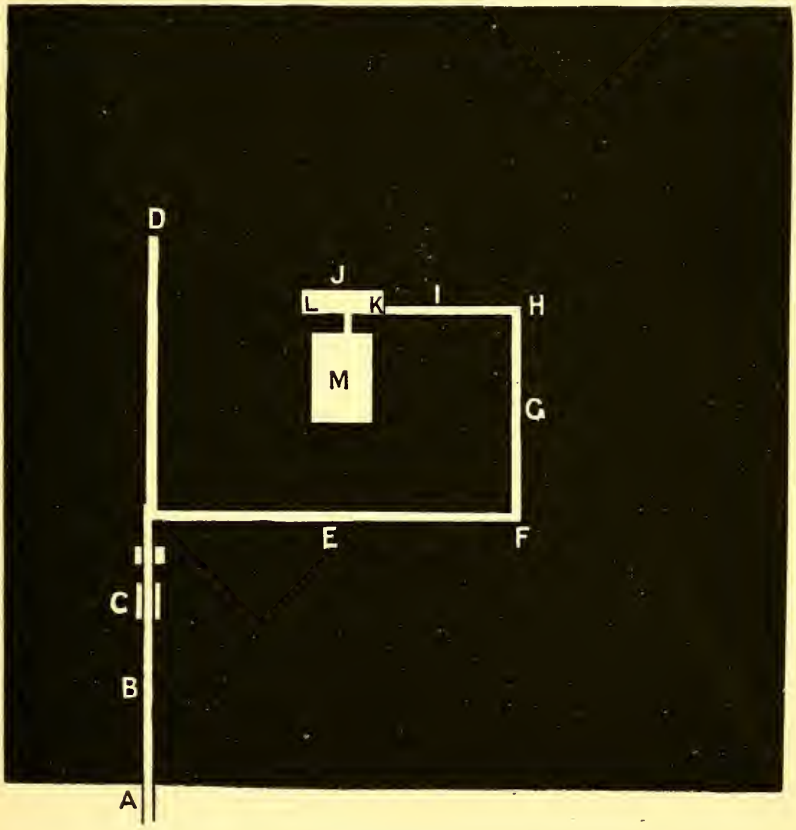
[3] *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, p. 12.

consisted of mud bricks laid in clean yellow sand; outside this was a casing of fine limestone, every stone of which has disappeared. The entrance to the pyramid is on the south side. When the site where the pyramid was to stand had been cleared, a large hollow, which was intended to receive the sarcophagus chamber, was sunk in the sandstone rock, and trenches which were to form the passages leading to it were cut also. Into this hollow in the rock, a huge sandstone monolith, which was hewn out to form the sarcophagus chamber, was sunk, and the sarcophagus and two chests were next placed inside it; round the chamber was built up masonry, on which rested the sloping and horizontal slabs of stone which were to form the roof. Above all this a great brick arch was thrown over the whole of the masonry of the chamber, and the bricks of the pyramid were piled above it all. Passing along the entrance passage, which was on the south side and was provided with steps, an ante-chamber with a roof made of a slab which could be moved along, and so forming a sliding trap-door, is reached. A little beyond is another chamber, in which are openings which lead into two passages; one passage runs due north for a distance of about eighty-four feet, and leads nowhere, but the other runs eastwards, and is the true passage which eventually leads to the sarcophagus chamber. At the end of the true passage is another chamber, with a sliding trap-door roof, and the visitor must follow a passage which runs due north until

PLAN OF THE PYRAMID OF ÂMEN-EM-HĀT III.

North Side.

West Side.



East Side.

South Side.

A Entrance (south side of pyramid).
B Entrance passage, with steps
C Ante-chamber, with sliding roof.
D Blind passage, running north.
E True passage to sarcophagus chamber.
F, H Chambers with sliding roofs.
G, I True passage to sarcophagus chamber.
J Rectangular chamber.
K, L False wells.
M Sarcophagus chamber.

another chamber with a sliding trap-door roof is reached. The passage then runs from east to west for some distance, and ends in a rectangular chamber with two false wells in it; this chamber measures about 26 ft. × 7 ft. 6 in. × 7 ft. 7 in. In this chamber Prof. Petrie found an alabaster table of offerings made for Ptaḥ-neferu, the daughter of Ȧmenemḥāt III., and the fragments of eight or nine large alabaster bowls. The entrance to the sarcophagus chamber was on the south side of the chamber with two false wells, and it had been effectually barred by means of a huge block of stone, which formed part of the roof, being dropped into it after the mummy had been laid in its last resting-place. The sarcophagus chamber, which is hewn out of a single stone, measures 22 ft. 4 in. × 7 ft. 10 in. × 6 ft. 2 in., and is a beautiful piece of work; it was roofed over with three slabs of hard sandstone, and the original entrance to it was closed by lowering one of these slabs into its place. Until the final closing of the chamber the slab was supported in an upper space or chamber, and when it was lowered into its place a narrow space was left above it by which a man could pass out over it into the chamber with the two wells. The sarcophagus is made of hard limestone and is uninscribed. It has a sub-plinth, and is ornamented with the panel work which was so much liked in the VIth Dynasty; it measures 8 ft. 10 in. × 4 ft. × 2 ft. 7 in., and has a rounded lid of the same length and breadth, but measuring 1 ft. 2 in. in depth. Between the sarco-

phagus and the east wall another sarcophagus was improvised, and this was intended to be the resting-place of the princess Ptaḥ-neferu, whose altar and bowls were found in the chamber with the two wells. Near the sarcophagi were the chests which once held the sepulchral vases; fragments of these were found to be inscribed with the prenomen of Âmenemḥāt III., Maāt-en-Rā, and thus we may assume that the king was here buried. Traces neither of bodies nor of coffins were found in the sarcophagi, and judging by the calcined fragments of stone which were lying on the floor, these objects had been wholly consumed by fire. All the details connected with the construction of the pyramid are of the greatest interest, for they show what elaborate precautions had to be taken to keep robbers from breaking into the royal tombs and plundering them. But in spite of chambers with sliding roofs which admitted the invader to hollows filled up with masses of stone, and so took him out of the right path, and passages which led nowhere, and wells which contained nothing and ended nowhere, the pyramid was entered, and the thieves managed to gain access to the royal sarcophagus chamber.

In the extract from the account of Lake Moeris given by Herodotus, quoted above, mention has been made of two pyramids, each of which rose fifty orgyae above the surface of the water and stood in the middle of the lake, and the historian declares that on each pyramid was a stone statue seated on a throne.

Recent investigations have identified with the two pyramids of Herodotus the ruins of two stone buildings which still stand near the modern village of Biyahmu in the Fayyûm, and are called by the natives "Kirâsi Fîr'aun," or "Pharaoh's Chairs," and this identification is probably correct; the statues which stood upon them were made of very hard sandstone, and, according to Prof. Petrie, who declares that he found fragments of them, which have since been sent to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, were about thirty-five feet high. The bases on which they stood were four feet high, and the pedestals were twenty-one feet high, so that from the top of their heads to the ground was a distance of about sixty feet. Each statue stood in a courtyard with a surrounding wall, and was entered by a door on the north side.[1] It is not easy to see what purpose was served by erecting these statues at this place, even though they did not actually stand in the middle of the lake as Herodotus thought; but it is clear that they formed suitable memorials of the great king who built the Labyrinth, or Temple of Lake Moeris, and who did the greater part of the work connected with the formation of the Lake, and who devised plans for making the best use of its waters.

In connection with the colossal statues of Âmen-emḥāt III. in the Fayyûm mention must be made of the famous sphinxes, which were discovered at Ṣân or Tanis by Mariette in 1861. These remarkable

[1] See *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinöe*, p. 55.



Human-headed Sphinx of Àmen-em-ḥāt¦III., usurped first by the Hyksos king Àpepà, and secondly by Pasebkhānut. From Ṣân (Tanis).

monuments have excited considerable interest among Egyptologists and have formed the subjects of many earnest discussions. Their finder, judging from the fact that the name of the Hyksos king Ápepà was cut upon their right shoulders, and noticing that their features were quite unlike any which had been found in Egypt up to that time, declared that the sphinxes must have been hewn during the period of the Hyksos domination in Egypt, and regarded them as typical examples of the sculptures of the Hyksos. The first to question seriously the accuracy of these views was M. de Rougé, who argued[1] that the occurrence of the name of Ápepà upon the right shoulder must be considered as a proof that the cartouche of this king was not the first which had been found upon the sphinxes. Twenty years later M. Maspero examined one of these monuments with great care, and he proved satisfactorily that the surface of the breast had been chiselled away, or rubbed down, to receive the cartouches of Pasebkhānut, a king of the XXIst Dynasty, and it was clear that the cartouches of this king had been inserted in the places formerly occupied by those of the king who made the monument. The views of Mariette, however, were accepted on all sides, and his hypothesis was regarded as a fact. In 1893 the matter was again discussed by M. Golénischeff,[2] who proved that the results of M. Maspero's examina-

[1] *Revue Archéologique*, 1861, p. 250 ff.

[2] *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. xv. p. 131 ff.

tion of the Ṣân sphinx supported M. de Rougé's doubts, and showed with singular clearness that the maker of the sphinxes was Ȧmenemḥāt III. If, as he says, we may not consider the Hyksos king Ȧpepa to be the maker of the monuments which he usurped, there is nothing left of Mariette's hypothesis except the foreign type of features which, he says, the sphinxes exhibit. Moreover, it is useless to urge the similarity of their features with those of the men who live in the north-east of the Delta and round about Lake Menzâleh at the present day, because men possessing such features have lived there from time immemorial, and when the Hyksos arrived in Egypt they naturally found such there. As a matter of fact, the inhabitants of the Delta have always differed greatly in respect of physical characteristics from the dwellers in Upper Egypt. They have been and are of larger stature, their physical strength is greater, and the conditions under which they have lived for thousands of years have made them more accustomed to the practices of war than to the occupations of peace. Taking as a standard for comparison the black granite statue inscribed with the names and titles of Ȧmenemḥāt III., which is now preserved in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg,[1] M. Golénischeff goes on to show that the features of this statue are identical with those which are found on the sphinxes from Ṣân, and on a statuette in his own possession. Moreover, an examination of the statue of

[1] Golénischeff, *Inventaire*, p. 84.

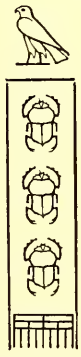
Âmenemḥāt III. at Berlin, which was usurped by Meren-Ptaḥ, shows that certain features, e.g., the muscles at the corners of the mouth, were altered by hammering in order to make them to resemble those of the usurper.[1] In Upper Egypt M. Grébaut discovered at El-Ḳab the fragments of a sphinx in white calcareous stone in the foundations of a temple of Rameses II., and these showed that when it was complete the monument closely resembled in face and features the famous sphinxes of Ṣân; it is well nigh impossible that a sphinx of the Hyksos king Âpepâ should be found so far south in Egypt, but for a sphinx of Âmenemḥāt III. to be discovered in this place seems to be only natural. Finally, M. Golénischeff argues with great justness that it is impossible to imagine Âmenemḥāt would leave the sanctuary at Ṣân or Tanis without statues of himself, especially as it contained, in his time, statues of his predecessors, Âmenemḥāt I., Usertsen I., Âmenemḥāt II., Usertsen II., etc. We may then with safety assign the Tanis sphinxes to the reign of Âmenemḥāt III., and in their features we probably see good representations of those of the maker of Lake Moeris and of one of the greatest kings who

[1] "En les examinant (i.e., les martelages) nous arrivons facilement à constater que les pommettes et les muscles aux coins de la bouche *ont dû à l'origine être aussi plus ou moins saillants*, car Merenptaḥ, qui, plus tard, usurpa cette statue, fit *marteler* le visage *justement aux pommettes et aux environs de la bouche*, afin de rendre les traits du visage de la statue usurpée plus ressemblants aux siens. *Recueil*, tom. xv. p. 135.

sat upon the throne of Egypt. In passing, reference may be made to a small, black basalt head here reproduced, in the collection of Sir Francis Grenfell, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.; it seems to have belonged to a portrait statue of Àmenemḥāt III., and is, in any case, a fine example of the sculptor's art of the period of the XIIth Dynasty. (See above, p. 47.) A theory has recently been propounded which makes the head of the Sphinx at Gîzeh to represent that of king Àmenemḥāt III., "by whom it may be supposed to have been erected;" but no evidence in support of it has yet been adduced, nor have the old views concerning the Sphinx yet been proved incorrect.

7. 

RĀ-MAĀ-KHERU, son of the Sun, ÀMEN-EM-ḤĀT IV., *Αμενέμης*.



The Horus name of Àmenemḥāt IV.[1]

ÀMENEMḤĀT IV., who was, strictly speaking, the last sovereign of the XIIth Dynasty, reigned for a period of nine years, but of his reign very few monuments have come down to us. His prenomen and Horus name are found inscribed on the rocks at Sarbût al-Khâdîm, and at the Wâdî Maghâra, in the Peninsula of Sinai, we have an inscription dated in the sixth year of his

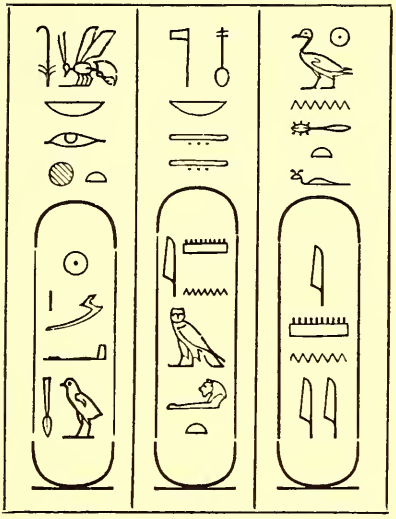
[1] A variant makes the Horus name to contain *four* beetles. The

reign; these facts prove that the turquoise mines of Sinai were being worked at the end of the XIIth Dynasty, and it follows, as a matter of course, that the Egyptian sovereignty in that country was still effective. An inscription on the rocks at Kummeh in the Second Cataract records the height of the Nile at that place in the fifth year of the reign of Åmenemḥāt IV.,[1] and in an inscription, which is upon a green glazed steatite plaque found at Ḳûrna and which is here given, we find the king's prenomen and name mentioned with that of the royal son Åmeni. The inscription on this object reads, "King of the "South and North, the lord, creator of things, "Maā-kheru-Rā, beautiful god, the lord of the two "lands, Åmenemḥāt. The son of the Sun of his

name with three beetles may be read, "Kheperâ kheper kheperu," the king indicating by these words that he was to be identified with the god "Kheperâ, who made all things to come into being." A suggestion as to the meaning of the name may be obtained from passages in the Papyrus of Nesi-Åmsu, where we meet such sentences as  and ; see my paper in *Archaeologia*, vol. lii., text, cols. xxvi. and xxviii.

[1] The texts are given by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. pl. 140 *n*, *o*, *p*, and pl. 152 *f*, and see Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

"body Ámeni." Of the details of the reign of Ámenemḥāt IV. nothing is known, but it is tolerably certain that it was unimportant, and that neither wars nor building operations of any magnitude were undertaken at that period. The tomb of the king was probably built at Thebes, but it has not as yet been discovered. Ámenemḥāt IV. was succeeded on the throne of Egypt by his sister Sebek-neferu-Rā, whom some authorities consider to have been his wife.

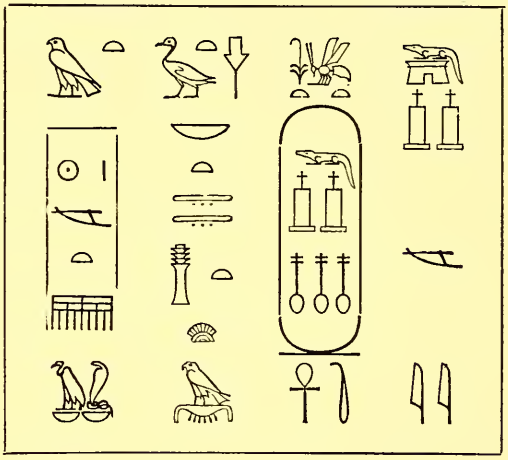


Plaque of Ámenemḥāt IV. in the British Museum, No. 22,879.

8.  Rā-Sebek-neferut, Σκεμίοφρις.

Sebek-neferu-Rā, or Sebek-neferut-Rā, or Sebek-neferu, the sister of Ámenemḥāt IV., and the Skemiophris of Manetho, appears to have been associated with this king in the government of Egypt, either as co-regent or wife, and after his death she is said to have reigned alone for three years, ten months,

and eighteen days.[1] Of the reign of this queen very few inscriptions are known; the most important of them is undoubtedly that which was published by the late Dr. Birch as far back as 1872,[2] and is here reproduced. The inscription is cut upon a steatite or talcose schist cylinder-seal which measures $1\frac{11}{12}$ in. in length, and the characters are filled with dark green glaze, which causes them to stand out prominently from the light green glazed background. The first line supplies the Horus name of the queen which reads, "the Horus, RĀ-MERT," or "Rā-loving," or "Rā-beloved Horus," and shows that she claimed the sovereignty over the cities of Nekhebet and Uatchet; the second line gives her titles, "daughter[3] of pre-eminence, the lady of the "two lands, the stablished one, who riseth [like] the



Cylinder of Sebek-neferu.
British Museum, No. 16,581.

[1] See Lepsius, *Auswahl*, pl. 5, col. 7, l. 2; and Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. 1, p. 527.

[2] *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1872, p. 96.

[3] Assuming the characters to be  *sat sekhem*.

"Horus of gold"; and the third and fourth lines read, "King of the South and North, Sebek-neferu, the "living one, beloved of Sebek." The god Sebek, whose name forms part of that of the queen, is, of course, the form of the Sun-god which was worshipped in the city of Crocodilopolis, and in all the neighbourhood of Lake Moeris, or the modern Fayyûm. This god is depicted in the form of a man, or with the head of a crocodile set upon a man's body; his solar character is proclaimed by the disk of the sun which he sometimes wears upon his head, and by the disk, horns, and plumes which form his crown. According to the CVIIIth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, Sebek was the lord of Bakhau, , i.e., the "Mountain of the Sunrise," which measured 30,000 cubits by 15,000 cubits, and his temple was situated on the land towards the east of the mountain.

Before the end of this chapter on the kings of the XIIth Dynasty, reference must be made to the king or prince whose existence has been made known to us by the excavations of M. de Morgan at Dahshûr,[1] and whose cartouches read:—

9.  Rā-āu-ab, son of the Sun, Her.

The tomb of this royal personage was discovered at Dahshûr by M. de Morgan in 1894, and was excavated

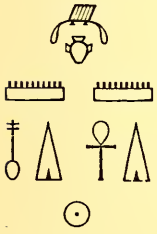
[1] See *Fouilles à Dahchour*, p. 87 ff.

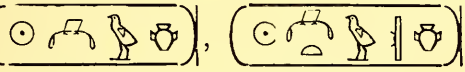
by him in the same year; it lay near the southern brick pyramid to the west of the village of Menshûyya, and formed one of a row of interesting sepulchres. The inscriptions on the objects found therein show that ĀU-ÀB-RĀ adopted as his Horus name that of Ḥeru, which is written on the things dedicated to the KA in the form , i.e., with the hawk of Horus wearing the crowns of the South and North. Among the funeral furniture in the tomb worthy of special notice is the wooden statue of the KA or "double" of the king, which stood upright, as if in the act of walking, in a wooden shrine; this representation of the "double" of a dead man is unique. Above the head of the statue was fixed a wooden emblem of the KA, , and the eyebrows, the nails of the hands and feet, etc., were covered with thin leaves of gold; the proportions of this fine figure prove it to be the work of a master craftsman, and merit M. de Morgan's eulogy.[1] But interesting as this "find" may be archaeologically, it is not so important for historical considerations as the assignment to the king or prince, for whom the statue was made, of his correct place in the list of the kings of Egypt. M. de Morgan is of opinion that the tomb of Āu-àb-Rā is contemporary with the building of the pyramid near which it was built, and as the funeral furniture found in the

[1] "Le corps est parfait d'équilibre et de proportions et l'étude "de ses différentes parties décèle une connaissance approfondie de "la myologie dissimulée sous le jeu large du ciseau." *Fouilles à Dahchour*, p. 92.

tomb resembles that of many well-known tombs of the XIIth Dynasty, he hesitates not to declare that this king or prince flourished at this period. He notices the important fact that the box which contained the Canopic vases was sealed with an earthen seal, on which was, apparently, stamped the cartouche of Ámenemḥāt III., and from it concludes that Āu-áb-Rā lived during the reign of this king, who himself attended the funeral, and that the seal must have been affixed by the king, and not by a priest or official who had obtained possession of the scarab or object by means of which it was made. It is well-known that the kings of the XIIth Dynasty often associated their sons with them in the government of Egypt, e.g., Ámenemḥāt I. and Usertsen I. ruled together for ten years; Ámenemḥāt II. and Usertsen II. ruled together for a few years, as also did Ámenemḥāt III. and Ámenemḥāt IV.; from these facts it is argued that Ámenemḥāt III. associated Āu-áb-Rā with him in the rule of the kingdom about the fortieth year of his reign, and that, his co-regent dying soon after, he was obliged to set Ámenemḥāt IV. in his place. The tomb of Āu-áb-Rā is not a suitable resting-place for a great king, but it is a worthy sepulchre for a younger son or brother of the royal family; and, though it is possible that this prince lived at a period subsequent to that of the XIIth Dynasty, and that he was buried in the tomb near the pyramid many years after the dynasty had come to an end, it is not likely. It will be remembered that in the groups

of the names of the kings of the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties, collected by Wiedemann from the fragments of the King List at Turin, are two which read Āu-àb-Rā and Āutu-àb-Rā,[1] but, for the reasons given above, neither of these can rightly, it seems, represent the royal personage who was buried at Dahshûr. Besides the two scarabs bearing the name of Āu-àb-Rā, which are referred to by M. J. de Morgan,[2] a third example is worthy of mention. It is made of green glazed steatite, and is inscribed, "Āu-àb-Rā, the stable "one, giver of life, the stable one, giver of "happiness."[3] This interesting object was found at Abydos; its style and workmanship prove it to belong to the Middle Empire, but whether it commemorates the name of either of the two kings mentioned above, or that of the relative or friend of Àmenemḥāt, cannot be said.



[1] ; see Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 266, No. 14, and p. 274, No. 70.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

[3] See my *Catalogue of the Lady Meux Collection*, London, 1896, p 196, No. 376.

CHAPTER II.

THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY. FROM THEBES.

Concerning the causes which brought the XIIth Dynasty of the kings of Egypt to an end we have no information whatsoever, and although Manetho makes it to end with Skemiophris, whom we have seen to be the Sebek-neferu, or Sebek-neferu-Rā, of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, it is not absolutely certain that the dynasty ended with this queen. Manetho had, no doubt, good reasons for making the XIIth Dynasty to end with her, and it is pretty certain that his list represents in this respect the opinion which was current in the XVIIIth Dynasty among the authorities who wrote the works on which he based his King List; but it must not be forgotten that in the Tablet of Abydos the XIIth Dynasty ends with Ȧmenemḥāt IV. It is not likely that the sovereignty of this king's house was wrested from it by force, for there is no evidence forthcoming to indicate that the first king of the XIIIth Dynasty only ascended the throne after tumult and civil war and bloodshed. It may be that Sebek-neferu

herself married a member of a noble family, who thereupon arrogated to himself royal rank and position, or she may have died whilst she was the absolute ruler of the country, leaving no issue, whereupon the sceptre of Egypt passed from her to some one near of kin. It is generally admitted that the kings of the XIIIth Dynasty were of Theban origin, and the monuments which they have left behind them differ very little in style and character from those of the kings of the XIIth Dynasty, who were certainly Theban; still, the objects which can be shown with a tolerable degree of certainty to belong to the period of the successors of the kings of the XIIth Dynasty have characteristics, which once recognized, cannot be mistaken. The period of Egyptian history which begins with the XIIIth Dynasty and ends with the end of the XVIIth Dynasty is full of difficulty, and it is impossible in the present state of Egyptological knowledge to give a truly satisfactory account of it. The monuments supply the names of a considerable number of kings who ruled between the XIIth and XVIIth Dynasties, but they cannot be arranged in proper chronological order, and it is very probable that several other kings reigned whose names are unrecorded. We obtain no assistance from the Tablet of Abydos, for the prenomen of Ȧmenemḥāt IV., the last king of the XIIth Dynasty, is followed by that of Amāsis I., the first king of the XVIIIth Dynasty; the Tablet of Karnak is useless for purposes of chronological arrangement of royal names,

and the Tablet of Ṣaḳḳâra does not help us very much. And it is, unfortunately, the fact that the one document in the world, i.e. the King List in the Museum of Turin, which would have rendered possible a chronological arrangement and grouping of the royal names now supplied by the monuments, is practically worthless for the history of the period. It has already been shown[1] how useless it is for critical purposes, first, because of the lacunae in it, and, secondly, because the fragments of it which remain to us were joined together by Seyffarth, whose knowledge of hieratic was of the most meagre character, and whose system of decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphics has been shown to be hopelessly wrong; the remarks on the Turin Papyrus made by Rosellini, de Rougé, Birch, and Wiedemann, quoted above,[2] should not be forgotten in connexion with any assertion made about the chronology of the XIIIth Dynasty. The late Dr. Brugsch thought that a glance at the mutilated fragments of the Turin Papyrus would "convince the "reader that the five last columns of the once complete "work were consecrated to the memory of kings who "undoubtedly belonged to the preceding dynasties. "One may reckon their total number in this MS. at "5 × 30, i.e. 150, but it is evident that the genealogical "calculation could not be applied to fix approximately "the duration of their reign according to human calcu-"lations. The figures which have been preserved in

[1] See above, Vol. I., p. 114.

[2] See Vol. I., p. 116 ff.

"the canon [i.e., Papyrus], and which served to indicate "the years of the reign of each of the kings of whom "we have spoken, rarely surpass the number of three "or four. It is almost certain, therefore, that the "history of Egypt at this epoch must have been made "up of times of revolt and interior troubles, and "murders and assassinations, by which the life and "length of reign of the prince was not subjected to "the ordinary conditions of human existence."[1] Dr. Brugsch, however, also held the view that "many "kings of the XIIIth Dynasty, and not only those "who were first in order of time, enjoyed perfect quiet "on the east side, and were occupied in erecting "monuments, the remains of which have been preserved "to our day, and whose size and kind do not point "to their having been hastily constructed. In the "days of their authors and their origin peaceful times "must have prevailed, and nothing looks like a foreign "occupation by the side of native kings."[2]

According to Manetho, the kings of the XIIIth Dynasty were sixty in number, and they reigned for a period of 453 years; these kings came from Thebes. The kings of the XIVth Dynasty were seventy-six in number, and they reigned for a period of 184 or 484 (Eusebius) years; these kings came from *Xoïs*, a city called Ȧat-Sekhau, , in the hiero-

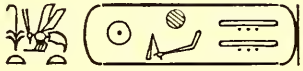
[1] *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i., p. 184.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

glyphic texts.[1] It has been thought that the names which were written in the last five columns of the King List of Turin, and which probably numbered from 130 to 150, may have been the names of the kings referred to by Manetho in his summary of the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties, and there is something to be said for this view. But if we divide the higher total of the years of the two dynasties, i.e. 937, by the number of the kings, i.e. 136, we obtain an average of rather less than 7 years for each reign, and if we take the lower total the average length of each reign is about $4\frac{2}{3}$ years. Assuming these numbers to be only approximately correct, it seems pretty certain that a large number of kings reigned each for a very few years, and, although some of them may have been kings of the South and North *de facto*, we are justified in assuming that many were only local chieftains, or governors of towns and cities, who asserted their independence and magnified the extent of their dominions and the greatness of their powers whenever they had a chance of doing so. In any case it is certain that all the kings who reigned during the XIIIth, and XIVth, and three following dynasties were not kings in the sense of the word that the Usertsens and Ȧmenemḥāts were kings, for had they been so the Tablet of Abydos would never, in the writer's opinion, have passed over

[1] The city was called ⲍⲉⲱⲥ by the Copts, and is known to the Arabic historians under the name Sakhâ, سخا; it is situated in the province of Gharbîyeh, and is in the district of Kafr Al-shêkh.

in absolute silence the names of the kings of five whole dynasties. It is hard not to come to the conclusion that the kings of the XIIIth Dynasty, whatever their number may have been, little by little lost their hold upon the country, and that, once having done so, Egypt was rent from one end to the other by internal dissensions, and that the controlling power of the Government at Thebes having disappeared, each petty governor or chieftain did what was right in his own eyes. The years assigned to the dynasty by Manetho must be too many, and the number of kings seems to be too high, for it is impossible that the lapse of four and a half centuries should be necessary before Egypt became a suitable prey for the invaders from the east, or Hyksos. The facts of Egyptian history prove that the enemies of the country, i.e., the Libyans on the west, the Nubians on the south, and the nomad tribes on the east, were ever on the look-out to invade her, and that none but the most active and mighty of the kings of Egypt ever kept them at bay. The terror inspired in them by the great kings of the XIIth Dynasty would disappear entirely in a few score years, and the result of the reigns of half-a-dozen feeble kings would be the refusal to pay tax and tribute on the part of vassal nations, if not open rebellion or invasion of Egyptian territory by them. As the power of the Government at Thebes declined, the Asiatics most probably made their way into the Delta, and experienced little or no opposition to their entrance,

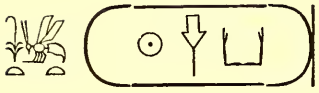
and, if we accept Manetho's statements concerning the number of kings and the duration of the XIIIth Dynasty, there seems to be nothing left to do except admit either that the Hyksos had already established themselves in Egypt before the end of the XIIIth Dynasty, or that many of its kings were contemporaneous. The following are some of the names of the kings who are believed by Brugsch, Lieblein, Wiedemann, and others to have lived in the period of the XIIIth Dynasty.

1.  Rā-khu-taui.

Rā-khu-taui is the form of the name of the first king of the XIIIth Dynasty which has been adopted by Brugsch and Wiedemann, and it is found on the Tablet of Karnak; the former authority gives as his second name Sebek-ḥetep, but the latter declares there is no monumental evidence forthcoming which would justify his eminent colleague in so doing, and says that king Rā-sekhem-khu-taui, who is No. 16 in his list, was Sebek-ḥetep I. M. Maspero seems to have examined the King List of Turin specially with the view of clearing up the difficulty, and he says that if the papyrus be examined, it will be seen that there is a tear in it before the signs Rā-khu-taui which is not indicated in the fac-simile, and that this tear has not

only damaged the sign for the solar disk, ⊙, but has carried away a sign almost entirely.[1] This being so, he concludes that the full name of the king which was written there was Rā-sekhem-khu-taui, and that he was the founder of the XIIIth Dynasty; as the king of the same name who stands fifteenth in the list was called Sebek-ḥetep, he assumes that Rā-sekhem-khu-taui I. was also called Sebek-ḥetep, and he thinks, therefore, that the queen Sebek-neferu was succeeded by a Sebek-ḥetep—"puis elle [i.e., Sovkounofriourî] céda la place "à un Sovkhotpou." Whatever may have been the true name of the first king of the XIIIth Dynasty, it is pretty certain that he was of Theban origin, and that he made Thebes the capital of his kingdom, just as the kings of the XIIth Dynasty had done, and that he ruled the country from that place; Thebes, then, as M. Maspero says, became the actual capital of Egypt, for the kings of the new dynasty began to build their funeral pyramids there, and the actual capital of a sovereign was less the place where he sat upon his throne when living than that where he rested when dead.

[1] "De plus, quand on examine le *Papyrus de Turin*, on s'aperçoit qu'il y a, en avant du groupe *Khoutooui* du premier cartouche, une déchirure qui n'est point indiquée sur le fac-simile, mais qui a endommagé légèrement le disque solaire initial et enlevé presque entièrement un signe. On est donc porté à croire qu'il y avait là un *Sakhemkhoutoouiri* au lieu d'un Khoutoouiri," etc. *Hist. Anc.*, p. 527.

2.  RĀ-SEKHEM-KA.

Of the reign of RĀ-SEKHEM-KA no details are forthcoming, and the monumental evidence concerning him is scanty. The principal monument of his time is a fine large stone stele, having a rounded top, and measuring 3 ft. $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. by 2 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., which was made to commemorate a royal personage who flourished at that period. This stele is an interesting object, for the winged disk at the top of it, and the Horus name and prenomen of the king, etc., are cut in low relief upon it; the general appearance of the hieroglyphics is bold and striking, and the monument forms one of the best examples known to us of the sepulchral stelae of the period. It is said to have been found among the ruins at Kôm al-Atrîb, an Arab village which marks the site of the ancient city of Athribis, the Ḥet-ta-ḥer-ābt, , of the hieroglyphic inscriptions,[1] during the construction of the Cairo-Alexandria Railway which runs through the ruins of the ancient city; it was for some time in the possession of a gentleman at Benha, when Prof. Wiedemann[2] heard of it, but was afterwards taken to Alexandria, where the late Dr.

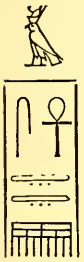
[1] J. de Rougé, *Géog. Ancienne de la Basse-Égypte*, Paris, 1891, p. 63.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 266.

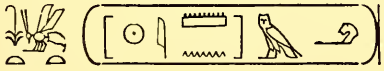


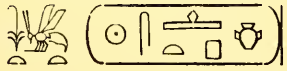
Stele of Sekhem-ka-Rā. British Museum, No. 1343.

Brugsch copied it,[1] and it is now preserved in the British Museum (No. 1343).



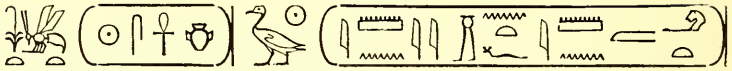
The scene depicted on the stele is of considerable interest. In the centre we have the Horus name of the king SE-ĀNKH-TAUI, i.e., "Vivifier of the two lands," and before it, on the right, is a seated figure of Ḥāpi, the god of the Nile, who wears a cluster of plants upon his head, and holds before him a table on which stand the two characteristic vases. From an object between these extend the symbols of "life," "stability," and "power," and as they reach towards the hawk of Horus, which stands above the king's Horus name, it seems as if the sculptor intended to represent that the Nile-god was making an offering of them to the king, who is here symbolized by his Horus name. On the left hand side are the king's prenomen and his usual titles. The interpretation of the inscription is not without difficulty, for the sculptor has made mistakes in cutting the inscription, but it seems to have reference to a "royal daughter" called Rā-Meri, , although the two first words *erpā ḥā* form the title of a man.

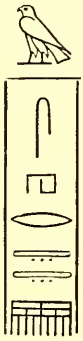
3.  RĀ-ÀMEN-EM-ḤĀT.

4.  RĀ-SEḤETEP-ÀB I.

[1] See his *Thesaurus*, p. 1455, No. 84.

5.  ÀUFNÀ.

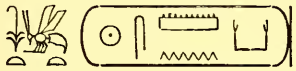
6. 
RĀ-SE-ĀNKH-ÀB, son of the Sun, ÀMENI-ÀNTEF-ÀMEN-EMḤĀT.

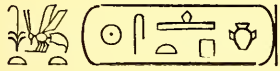

SEHER-TAUI, the Horus name of Àmeni-Àntef-Àmenemḥāt.

The existence of ÀMENI-ÀNTEF-ÀMEN-EMḤĀT is made known to us by a large, hard sandstone altar, or table of offerings, made in two pieces, which was discovered by Mariette at Karnak,[1] where it had, undoubtedly, been dedicated for use in the temple of the god Àmen. In each half of the altar are twenty hollows, arranged symmetrically, which were intended to serve as bowls and to receive the offerings of the faithful; and the names and titles of the king are cut upon the two halves in horizontal lines. From the inscriptions we learn that the Horus name of the king was SEHER-TAUI, i.e., "pacifier of the two lands," and that he styled himself the "lord of the cities of the vulture and "uraeus," the "prince of Maāt for ever," the "giver of "Maāt for ever," the "Horus of gold," and "he who "maketh [his] glorious appearance to be pre-eminent."

[1] See Mariette, *Karnak*, plates 9 and 10; Maspero, *Guide*, p. 431; J. de Morgan, *Notice des principaux Monuments*, p. 39.

In the reign of the fanatical king Ȧmen-ḥetep IV. an attempt was made to cut or hammer out from the second cartouche of the king the name Ȧmen, , and the marks thereof are visible to this day.[1]

7.  Rā-semen-ka.

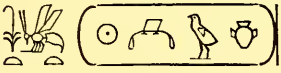
8.  Rā-seḥetep-ȧb II.

9.  ka.

10.  Rā-netchem-ȧb.

11.  Rā-Sebek-ḥetep.[2]

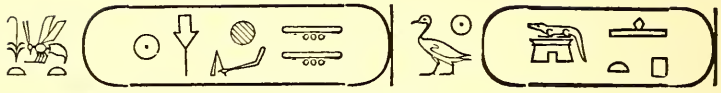
12.  Ren-sen-eb.

13.  Rā-āu-ȧb.

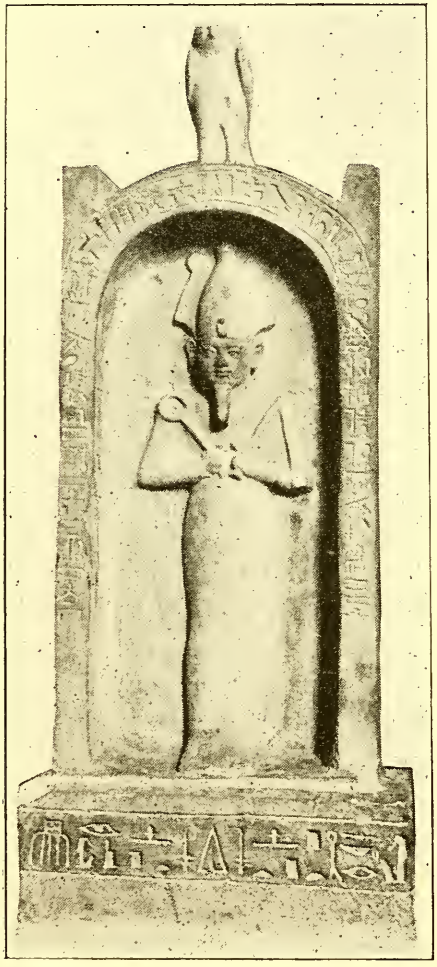
14.  Rā-setchef-...

[1] "Ces tables, érigées à Karnak, y servaient, pendant les fêtes des morts, à célébrer les sacrifices institués par le défunt au compte de son double." Maspero, *Guide*, p. 431.

[2] Wiedemann (*op. cit.*, p. 266) mentions two scarabs of this king.

15. 

Rā-sekhem-khu-taui, son of the Sun, Sebek-ḥetep I.



Limestone shrine of Pa-suten with the figure of the god Osiris in relief. On the rounded portion, at the feet of the hawk by which the shrine is surmounted, is the prenomen of Ámenemhāt III. (British Museum, No. 1135.)

The rule of Sebek-ḥetep I. over Egypt seems to have been real, and, if we may judge by the few monuments and inscriptions of his time which have come down to us, it extended from the Mediterranean Sea to the Second Cataract. In the course of his excavations at Bubastis,[1] M. Naville found portions of a massive red granite architrave inscribed with the prenomen of Sebek-ḥetep I., and the size of the hieroglyphics indicates that it must have rested upon pillars of very great dimensions, and it is

[1] See *Bubastis*, p. 15.

quite certain that he must have carried on building operations on this ancient site on a large scale. When the temple was restored at a later period the builders used the old blocks of granite and placed the inscriptions in such a way that they were hidden. On the rocks near the forts of Semneh and Kummeh in the Second Cataract is a series of hieroglyphic inscriptions which record the greatest height of the Nile during the first four years of the reign of Sebek-ḥetep I., and this seems to indicate that the power of the central government at Thebes was sufficiently stable to admit of the appointment of officials whose duty it was to inspect the irrigation of the country, and to record the levels attained by the waters of the Nile during the inundation. The governor of the Egyptian territories in Nubia at that time was called Ren-seneb, and his headquarters seem to have been the fort which Usertsen III. had built on their southern frontier. The name of Sebek-ḥetep appears on the Tablet of Karnak, and on several scarabs and other objects now in the British Museum.[1]

16.  Rā-user-.....

17. 

Rā-semenkh-ka, son of the Sun, Mer-mashāu.

[1] E.g., 15,701, 16,752, 17,029, 24,134, 28,867, 32,478.

The principal monuments extant of the reign of the king MER-MASHĀU are two gray granite statues, which were brought to light in the course of the excavations made at Tanis (Ṣân) by Mariette; both statues were set up in the great temple of Ptaḥ in that city, and the names of the king who caused them to be made are "clearly legible" in the middle column of the inscription. The Hyksos king Ȧpepȧ had his name inscribed upon both of them, but only one was, by the insertion of his name, usurped by Rameses II. The king, as son of Rā, adopted as his name the title "Mer-mashāu," i.e., "general of soldiers," and it was thought at one time that this name indicated that the king lived in times of rebellion and trouble, but Brugsch pointed out[1] that "mer mashāu" was the official title of the high priest of Mendes, and that the king adopted it rather in his priestly than in his military capacity.

18.  RĀ-.....-KA.

19.  [RĀ]-USUR-SET (?).

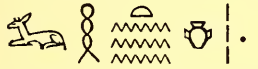
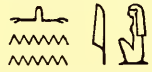
20.  RĀ-SEKHEM-SE-UATCH-TAUI, son of the Sun, SEBEK-ḤETEP II.[2]

[1] *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 220; Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

[2] For scarabs of this king see Brit. Mus., Nos. 3934, 30,506.



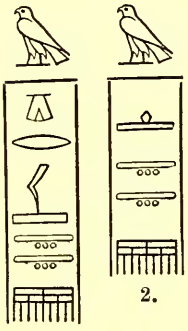
KHU-TAUI, the Horus name of Sebek-ḥetep II.

The name of SEBEK-ḤETEP II. is found on the Tablet of Karnak, and on scarabs, but we learn nearly all that is known of this king from two stelae, one of which is in the Louvre and has been published by Prisse d'Avennes;[1] the other is in Vienna and has been described by Bergmann.[2] He was the son of a man called Menthu-ḥetep, , who held the rank of "divine father," and of the "royal mother" Āuḥet-ābu, . The stele in the Louvre mentions two "royal daughters" called Āuḥet-abu (?) and Ānqet-ṭāṭṭā, who are said to have been the children of the "royal wife" Ánnà, , and both are represented as standing in adoration before the ithyphallic god Ámsu or Min. The stele in Vienna seems to commemorate a brother of Sebek-ḥetep II. called Seneb, for the names of the parents of each are Menthu-ḥetep and Āuḥet-ábu, and Seneb's children are called by the names of the grandparents, etc. Sebek-ḥetep II. seems to have succeeded to the throne of Egypt by reason of his wife's royal descent.

[1] *Monuments*, plate 8.

[2] *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. vii. p. 188 (No. 10).

21.  Rā-khā-seshesh, son of the Sun, Nefer-ḥetep.[1]


1. 2.

Nefer-ḥetep was, like his predecessor, the son of a "divine father" and of a "royal mother"; his father's name was Ḥa-ānkh-f, , and that of his mother Kemā, . His wife's name was Seneb-Sen, , and he had four children, two of whom were called after the names of himself and his wife, and two bore the names of Sa-Hathor and Sebek-ḥetep. He adopted as Horus names the titles "possessor of the two lands" (No. 1), and "peace of the two lands" (No. 2); and in addition to the old titles "Horus of gold" and "lord of the cities of the vulture and uraeus," he styled himself the "opener of the era (or, judge) of right," and the "stablisher of love." Nefer-ḥetep was a worshipper of the god Ȧmsu or Min of Coptos, and at various places in the First Cataract he is seen adoring the local gods and goddesses, i.e., Khnemu, Satet, and Ȧnuqet, but his chief interest seems to have been centred in the well-being of the old and famous shrine of Abydos.

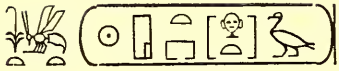
[1] For scarabs of this king see Nos. 3932, 3933, Brit. Mus.

Here he set up a large stele,[1] on which he caused to be related an account of how he one day wished to see and read the books of the god Temu or Àtmu (i.e., the form of Rā which is the type of the setting sun), that were preserved in the library of the temple. He obtained the permission of the god to do so, and when he had read the divine writings he decided to set the temple in order, and to restore whatsoever portions of it needed restoration. The authenticity of this document has been doubted because of the wording of certain parts of it, and an attempt made to prove from it that the seat of the government was not at Thebes but at Crocodilopolis; but if the text be the product of a later period, in other words, if the story be an invention of the priests of a later dynasty, the information which may be derived from it incidentally is not worth serious consideration, for it is in small matters that the literary forgers of antiquity have usually tripped. The name of Nefer-ḥetep is found among those given on the Tablet at Karnak, and a portrait of the king was published by Lepsius.[2] At some time during his reign he was associated in the rule of the kingdom with one of his successors, for on a slab of sandstone, which was found at Karnak by Mariette,[3] we find side by side with his cartouche that of Rā-khā-nefer Sebek-ḥetep.

[1] See Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. ii. pll. 28–30; Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[2] *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 291, Nos. 20, 21.

[3] See *Karnak*, pl. 8.

22.  Rā-Ḥet-ḥert-sa.

23.  Rā-khā-nefer, son of the Sun, Sebek-ḥetep.

Sebek-ḥetep III.[1] was, like Nefer-ḥetep, the son of Ḥa-ānkh-f, and he appears to have been one of the greatest kings of the XIIIth Dynasty; his rule extended from the Mediterranean Sea on the north to the country which lies between the Third and Fourth Cataracts on the south. These facts are proved by the red granite colossal statues of the king found at Tanis and Bubastis in the Delta, which show that he either restored on a large scale the ancient temples existing at these places, or built certain new halls which he made to adjoin them, and by two gray granite statues of himself which are to be seen to this day lying on the Island of Argo (Arḳaw, or Argaw), a few miles to the south of Kerma, at the head of the Third Cataract. These statues are nearly twenty-four feet high, and they seem never to have been finished; one is broken, and the other has lost an arm. Lepsius assigned them to the period of the Hyksos, but the inscription on one of them settles the matter, and proves that they were set up by Sebek-ḥetep III., who styles himself,[2] "lord of the

[1] For scarabs of this king see Brit. Mus. Nos. 4225, 24,135, 24,136, 25,554, 29,992, 30,507, 30,508, 32,313, 32,434.

[2] The text is given by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. pl. 151 *c*.

"cities of the vulture and uraeus, abundant in risings "[like the sun]," , and describes himself as "loving (or, loved of) Osiris Un-nefer, giver "of life for ever," . From their position it appears that they were set up in front of the temple, the ruins of which lie close by, after the manner of the colossal statues of kings which were placed before the pylons of temples in Egypt. These remains also indicate that a colony of Egyptians of considerable size must have existed in that neighbourhood, for the temple was a large one, and the ruins in the neighbourhood suggest that that portion of the Eastern Sûdân was under tolerably effective Egyptian control in times of peace. When war broke out or a disturbance of any kind arose the Egyptian garrison, if one existed there, must have been reduced to sore straits, for the Egyptian line of communications could be cut easily at almost any point between Argo and Semneh by an active and determined foe, and reinforcements would find it extremely difficult, nay impossible, to relieve their countrymen, either by way of the Cataracts or the Baṭn-al-Ḥagar. The gray granite statues of Sebek-ḥetep III. were quarried in the Island of Tombos near Kerma, and some seventy years ago Mr. Hoskins, who travelled in the country nearly as far south as Kharṭûm, saw there a broken statue made of the same material. Professor Wiedemann[1]

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 270.

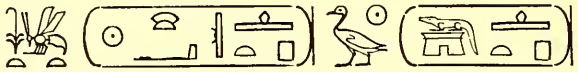
calls attention to the similarity of the prenomen of Sebek-ḥetep III., Khā-nefer-Rā, to the name of Chenephres, a king whose wife Merrhis, according to a legend, reared Moses, the great law-giver of Israel.

24.  Rā-khā-ka.

The name of this king was supplied by Brugsch, who derived it from the Tablet of Karnak.[1]

25.  Rā-khā-ānkh, son of the Sun, Sebek-ḥetep.

Of the reign of Sebek-ḥetep IV. nothing is known; the greater number of the monuments which record his names and titles are mentioned by Wiedemann.[2]

26.  Rā-khā-ḥetep, son of the Sun, Sebek-ḥetep.

The name of Sebek-ḥetep V. is found in the Tablet of Karnak as well as in the King List of Turin, where we are told that he reigned 4 years, 8 months, and 29 days.

[1] Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i., p. 188.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 270; see also Dubois, J. J., *Description des Antiquités*, Paris, 1837, Nos. 197, 209, pp. 34 and 36.

27.  Rā-uaḥ-ȧb [son of the Sun], Ȧā-ȧb.

According to the Turin Papyrus Ȧā-ȧb reigned 10 years, 8 months, and 18 days.

28.  Rā-mer-nefer, son of the Sun, Ȧi.

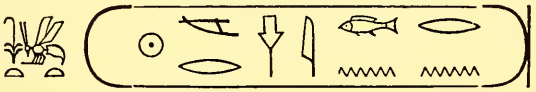
According to the Turin Papyrus he reigned 13 years, 8 months, and 18 days.

29.  Rā-mer-ḥetep, son of the Sun, Ȧnȧ.

According to the Turin Papyrus he reigned 2 years, 2 months, and 9 days.

30.  Rā-seānkh-nefer-utu.

According to the Turin Papyrus he reigned 3 years, 2 months, and some days.

31.  Rā - mer - sekhem-an-ren.

According to the Turin Papyrus he reigned 3 years, 1 month, and some days.

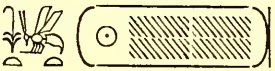
32.  Rā-s...-ka-.....

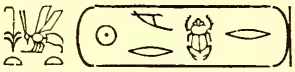
According to the Turin Papyrus he reigned 5 years, some months, and 18 days.

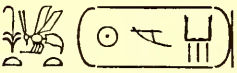
33.  Rā-seuatch-en.

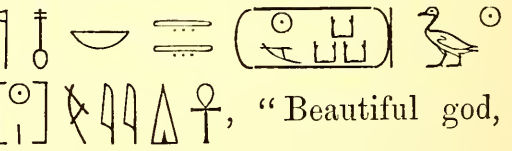
34-39. [Names wanting].

40.  Rā-khā-ka.

41.  Rā.....

42.  Rā-mer-kheper.

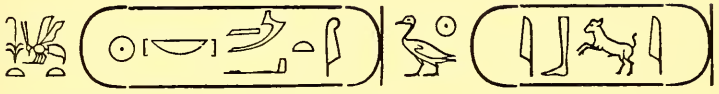
43.  Rā-mer-kau.

The name of this king is found on the Tablet of Karnak, and from the inscription on a broken red granite statue of the king which was found at Karnak [1] it seems that he must be regarded as Sebek-ḥetep VI. The text reads , "Beautiful god, "lord of the two lands, Rā-mer-kau, son of the Sun, "Sebek-ḥetep, beloved of (or, loving) Ȧmen-[Rā], giver "of life."

[1] See Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 8 L, text, p. 45.

44-46. [Names wanting].

47.  MESU.

48. 

RĀ-NEB-MAĀT, son of the Sun, ÁBÀ.

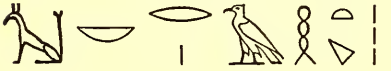
49.  RĀ-.....-UBEN.

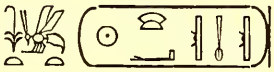
50-53. [Names wanting].

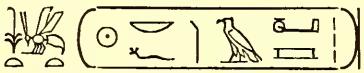
54.  [RĀ]-NEḤSI.

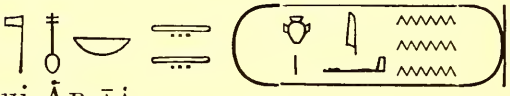
In the year 1860 the natives at Tell-Muḳdam in the Delta discovered among the ruins of an old house the base of a black granite, colossal, seated figure of a king, and when M. Mariette had studied the inscription, he decided that the monument had been made by a Hyksos king, and thought that he could identify in the cartouche the hieroglyphic for the god Sutekh, . Later, the cartouche was studied by Ebers, who by "restoring" certain characters wished to discover in it the hieroglyphic form of the Hyksos king called Salatis. Subsequently the cartouche was submitted to further examination by M. Naville, and as a result he has proved [1] that the cartouche is not that

[1] See *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. xv. p. 99; see also Naville, *Ahnas el-Medineh*, plates 4, B1, and B2.

of a Hyksos king, but of the king NEḤSI or RĀ-NEḤSI, whose name stands at the head of this paragraph. The word "Neḥsi" means "negro," and it is possible that this king was a veritable negro, who, by some means, made good his claim to the throne of Egypt, and as in an inscription at Tanis[1] he calls himself "royal son, firstborn Neḥsi," , he seems to have been entitled by law thereto. He was certainly a man of alien race, a fact shown by the use of the determinative , and it is interesting to note that he declared himself to be the "lover (i.e., worshipper) of Set, the lord of Re-aḥet," .

55.  RĀ-KHĀ-KHERU.

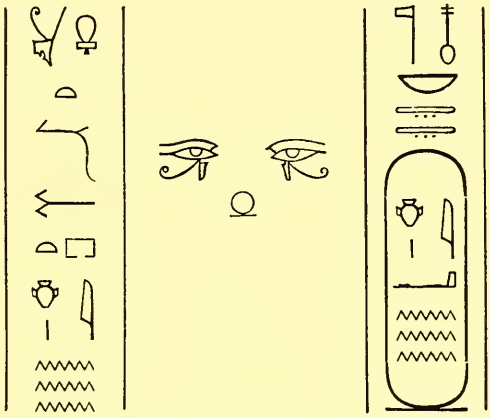
56.  RĀ-NEB-F-.....

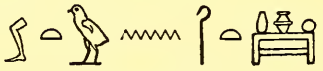
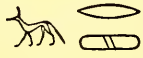
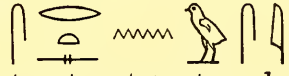
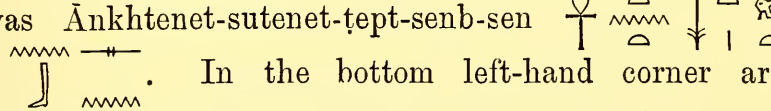
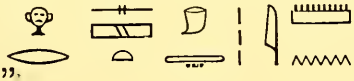
57.  Neter nefer neb taui ĀB-ĀĀ.

The existence of this king is made known by a stele preserved in the British Museum, where it bears the number 1348; it was found at Thebes at the end of 1900. The stele measures 22½ in. by 14½ in., and has

[1] Petrie, *Tanis*, pt. I. plate 3, No. 19*a*.

a rounded top; on the flat surface we have the name of ÅĀ-ÅB given thrice, with other symbols, thus:—

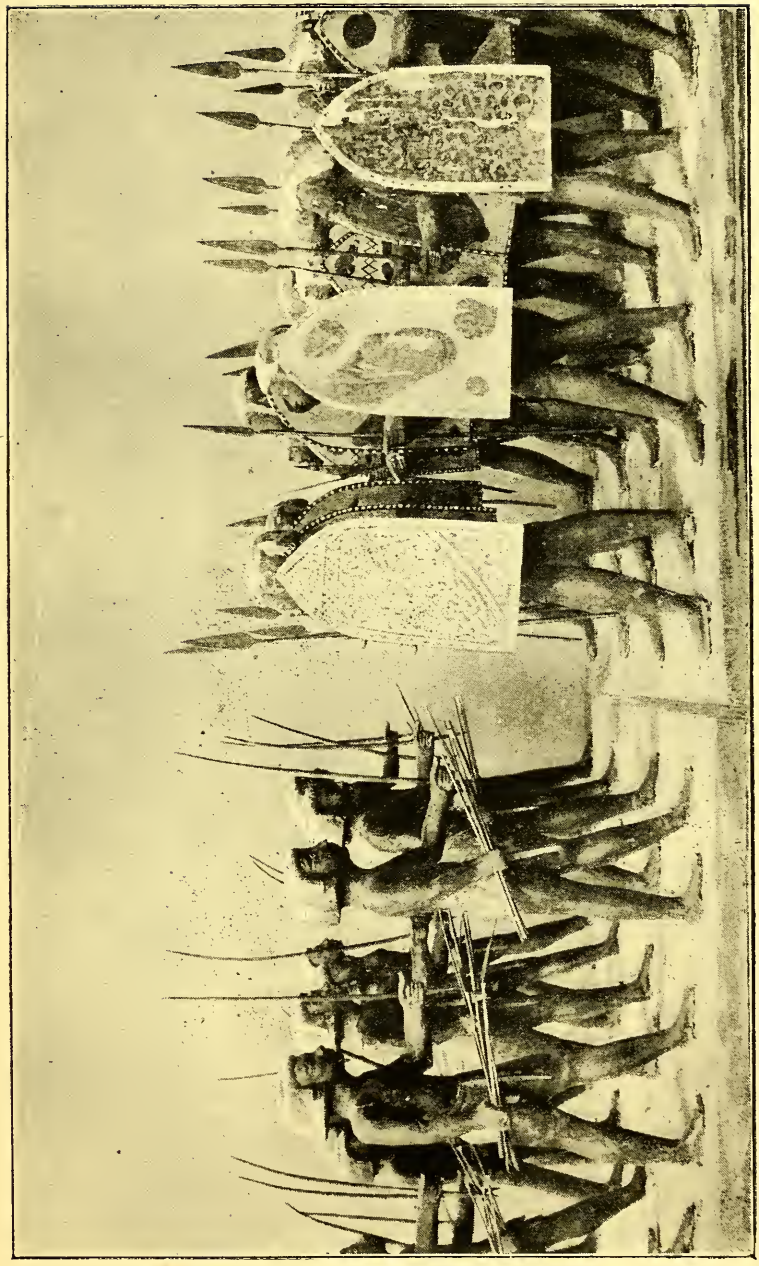


Below are 14 horizontal lines of text which show that the stele was dedicated to Ptaḥ-[Seker-Åsår], lord of Abydos, and to Åmen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the world, by Ḥet-ḥer-sa , a priestly official of Åmen-Rā who held the rank of  (var. ). His father was a  called Usertsenuså , and his wife's name was Ānkhtenet-sutenet-ṭept-senb-sen . In the bottom left-hand corner are figures, in relief, of the deceased and his wife, in the style of the work of the latter part of the XIIth Dynasty. The brother of the deceased and certain of his ancestors were "superintendents of the mysteries of Åmen," , and were "judges of Nekhen."

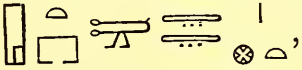
CHAPTER III.

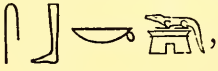
EGYPT UNDER THE MIDDLE EMPIRE.—SUMMARY.

HAVING stated in the preceding pages the principal facts in connexion with the reigns of the kings of the XIth, XIIth and XIIIth Dynasties, we may now attempt to describe in brief the main characteristics of this period of Egyptian history. All the evidence now available shows that these three dynasties were closely connected, and that they must be treated together. The principal event which distinguishes this period from the preceding is the transference of the seat of government from Memphis and Herakleopolis to Thebes, i.e., from the north to the south; this event took place when the family of the Menthu-ḥeteps, who were originally princes of Hermonthis (the modern Erment, about eight miles to the south of Thebes), and who subsequently extended their authority over the whole of the Thebaïd, obtained complete control over the whole of the Nile Valley, and assumed the double crown of the South and the North as the kings of the XIth Dynasty. The kings of the XIIth Dynasty, who were purely of Theban origin, were evidently very closely related to the kings of the XIth Dynasty, and



Wooden models of two companies of Egyptian soldiers armed with spears, shields, and bows and arrows.
From a tomb in the mountain south of Asyût.

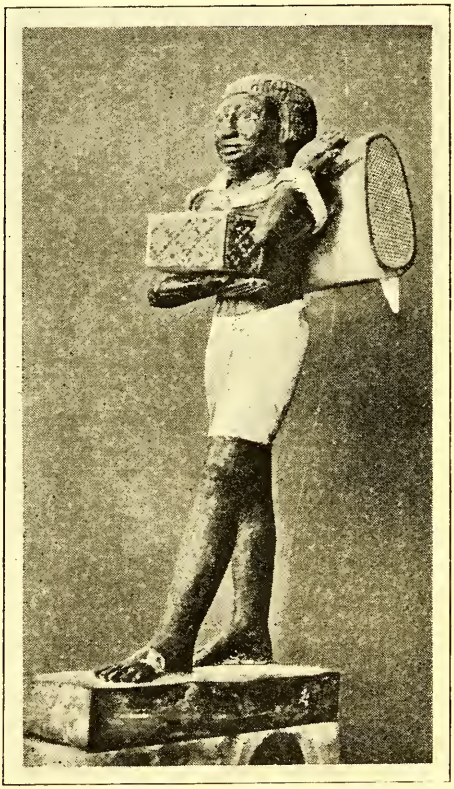
it is probable that Àmenemḥāt I. was a blood relation of Seānkhka-Rā, the last king of the XIth Dynasty, and a king famous as the sender of a mission on a large scale to Punt. Although Àmenemḥāt succeeded his kinsman without any long interregnum, there is no doubt that there was some distinction between the families of the two kings, otherwise Àmenemḥāt would not have been reckoned the founder of a new dynasty; and the succession of this king to the throne seems to have been disputed, if we may judge from the hints which are given us in his "Instructions" to his son Usertsen.[1] It is, however, interesting to note that the later kings of the XIIth Dynasty built their private palaces not at Thebes, but at a place called "Ḥet-Thet-Taui," , which seems to have been situated at no great distance from the modern city of Minyeh.

Another interesting fact connected with the XIIth Dynasty is the predilection which its kings always showed for the province of the Fayyûm, of which the hieroglyphic inscriptions make no special mention until this period, when both it and its local crocodile-headed god Sebek,[2] , assume

[1] See above, p. 5.

[2] Sebek is a local form of the Sun-god Rā, and is mentioned in texts of the Early Empire; he was a great favourite with the kings of the XIIth and XIIIth Dynasties, but subsequently fell into a humble position, from which, however, he again emerged in Greek times, when under the name Σῶχος or Συχος he became one of the principal gods of Egypt.

very prominent positions. We have seen that the sister of Ȧmenemḥāt IV. was called Sebek-neferu, and several of the kings of the XIIIth Dynasty bore the name Sebek-ḥetep, facts which prove how great was the honour in



Painted wooden figure of a servant of "Pepi-en-ānkh, the Black" carrying his master's luggage; front view. XIth or XIIth Dynasty. From Meir.

which the god was held. The common worship and veneration of the god Sebek obviously closely connects the XIIth and XIIIth Dynasties, and it seems that the

first kings of the XIIIth Dynasty were connected by marriage with the family of Ȧmenemḥāt III.

Under the great kings of the XIIth Dynasty Egypt attained to a position of power and greatness which she



Painted wooden figure of a servant of "Pepi-en-ānkh, the Black" carrying his master's luggage; back view. XIth or XIIth Dynasty. From Meir.

had not enjoyed since the days of the VIth Dynasty, for the government was in the hands of strong and energetic monarchs, by whom the power of the local princes and

governors was curtailed or guided. With the cessation of private hostilities, which had existed between the local chiefs, the general prosperity of the country revived, and its wealth again became great, and the kings were thereby enabled to carry out the great engineering works in connexion with the irrigation of the country, which made their names famous in Egyptian history. Instead of building great tombs for themselves, as the kings of earlier dynasties had done, or erecting vast temples, as did their successors, they seem to have devoted their energies and the resources of the country to works of public utility, i.e., to the making of canals and reservoirs, and fortresses on the southern and north-eastern frontiers of their country, to protect it from the sudden inroads of the barbarians. Although Egypt as yet seems to have aspired to no actual rule over the surrounding nations, yet the kings of the XIIth Dynasty considerably extended her frontiers, especially in the south, where Usertsen III. built the frontier fortresses of Semneh and Kummeh at the foot of the Second Cataract; by this act he definitely annexed the whole country between the modern towns of Aswân and Wâdî Ḥalfa, and this territory has practically remained a part of Egypt proper ever since. On the other hand, neither at this period, nor at any other in their history, do the Egyptians appear to have attempted to annex permanently any portion of Libya; we hear, under the XIIth Dynasty, of Egyptian raids upon the Libyan

tribes, made sometimes under the leadership of the heir-apparent, e.g., Usertsen I., who was absent on one of these expeditions when he heard of the death of his father, Ȧmenemḥāt I. In Asia, Egypt possessed in the XIIth Dynasty, as in earlier times, only certain



Green diorite statue of an official. XIIth Dynasty.
British Museum, No. 29,671.

districts in the Peninsula of Sinai, e.g., Sarbût-al-Khâdîm, which, with the Wâdî Maghâra, already often mentioned, was held by the Egyptians on account of its valuable copper and turquoise mines; these mines were worked with great activity at this time, but in the XIIIth Dynasty they seem to have been temporarily

abandoned. But although the Egyptians exercised no direct domination over the tribes of Palestine and Syria, the tribes of Canaan maintained relations with the Egyptians which were certainly of a friendly character, and the kings of Egypt probably exercised considerable influence over them. Families of Canaanites often made their way into Egypt, where they seem to have been well received, and we hear nothing of any attacks or raids made by the Egyptians upon the peoples of Palestine and Syria at this period. The frontier on the north-east was protected from invasion by wandering desert tribes by a chain of fortresses extending across the swampy country which seems to have existed between the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. The friendly relations which must have existed from very ancient times between Egypt and Punt, seem, if we may judge from the expedition of Ḥennu in the reign of Seānkhka-Rā, to have been maintained, but under the kings of the XIIth Dynasty we find no special mention of voyages to Punt.

During the Middle Empire the strong and independent position which the nobles had attained after the collapse of the powerful rule of the kings of the VIth Dynasty was still maintained, though in a considerably modified form. The local *ḥā*, , princes were still all-powerful in their own nomes, but their private interests were made to yield to public policy, and in these respects the king seems to have ruled them with a heavy hand; towards the end of the

XIIIth Dynasty, when the royal power had fallen into weak hands, the princes and nobles regained their old position of independence, which naturally included the privilege of making war upon each other when and where they liked, a privilege which they had been



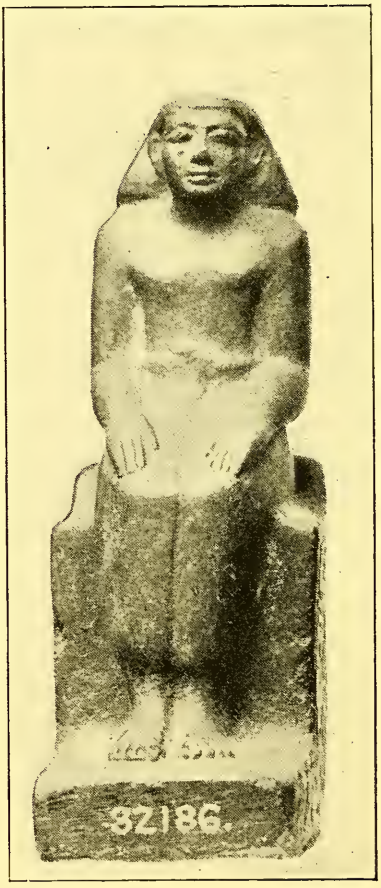
The official Ānkh-p-khrat. XIIth Dynasty. British Museum, No. 32,183.

obliged to forego under the strong rule of the Ȧmen-emḥāts and Usertsens. We are justified in assuming that a very large proportion of the royal names which have been assigned to the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties belonged to petty chiefs and nobles, who masqueraded as great kings. In the East a strong government has

always brought with it security of life and property, and in consequence material prosperity to the country and increased well-being to its inhabitants, and Egypt under the XIIth Dynasty afforded no exception to this rule; probably at no period of her existence were the masses of the population in better case than in the period of the XIIth Dynasty, a period which has, with great justice, been described as the "Golden Age" of Egyptian history.

We have already seen that in the Vth and VIth Dynasties the power of the priests had become very great, but under the Middle Empire their temporal power seems to have been considerably curtailed and their political influence not to have been very great, a fact probably due to the transfer of the temporal power of the country from the old priestly seats of Heliopolis and Memphis to the new capital Thebes, of which the local god, called Åmen, had, up to this period, been ministered to by a priesthood, poor and limited in number. We have abundant proofs that the cult of Åmen was increasing greatly in the XIIth Dynasty, but many centuries had to elapse before the confraternity of the priests of Åmen reached the height of power and influence which the Heliopolitan priests enjoyed at the period of the Vth Dynasty. In the Middle Empire Åmen was not identified with Rā, for the cult of Thebes had not yet absorbed that of Heliopolis; of the worship of Sebek, which was very considerable at this time, we have already spoken.

In the matter of funeral ceremonies there was a great revival, a fact proved by the numerous inscribed and painted coffins, "Canopic" jars, and boxes to hold the same, etc., which are such distinguishing characteristics of the tombs of the XIth and XIIth Dynasties. It seems that the "Canopic" jars were first introduced at this period, when, instead of the covers of the jars being fashioned in the shapes of the heads of the genii of the dead in use in later periods, the cover of each jar was in the form of a human head, which eventually was appropriated to Ámset or Mesthà. In connection with the performance of funeral ceremonies we find that at this period the *Book of the Dead* was finally arranged in the form which was afterwards practically stereotyped by the sacred scribes and religious writers of Thebes in the XVIIIth Dynasty.

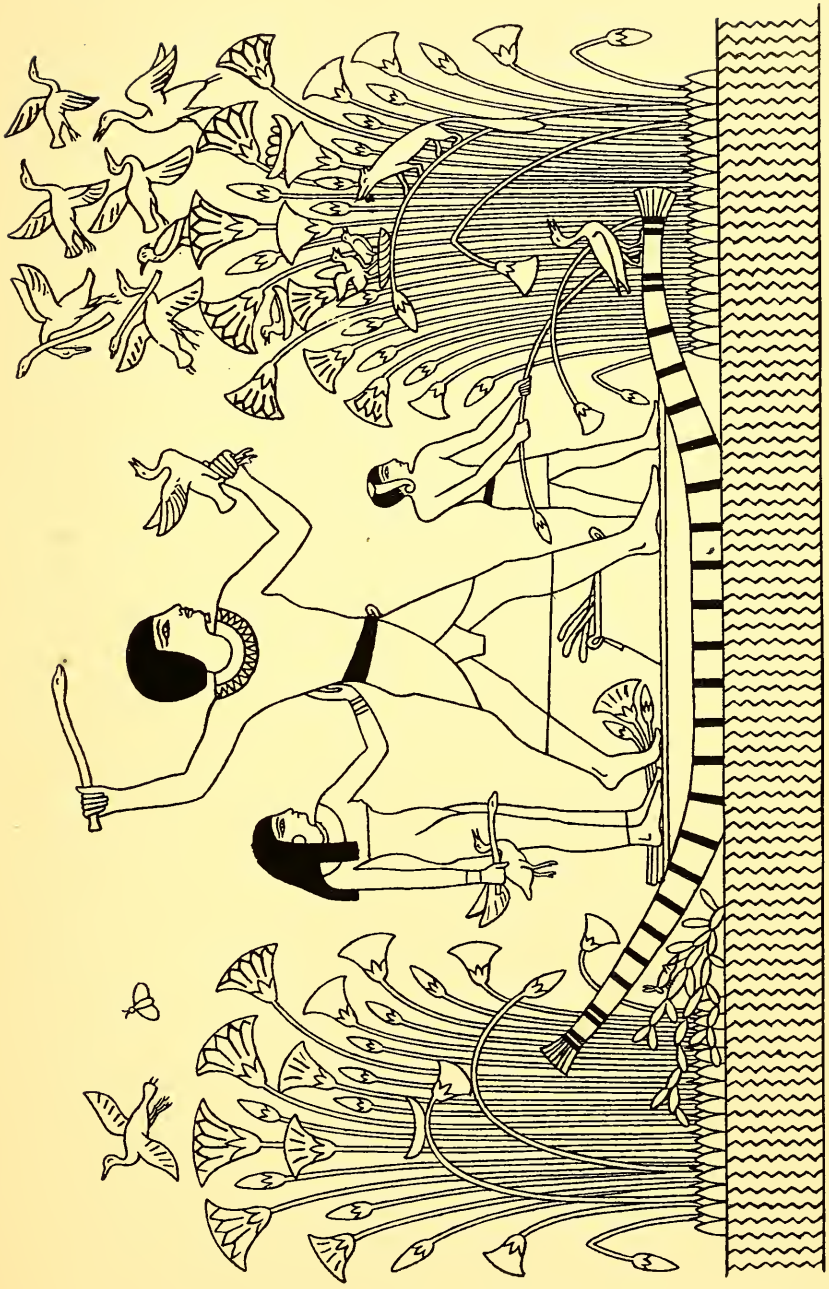


Black basalt figure of an official.
XIIth Dynasty.
British Museum, No. 32,186.

Of the secular literature of the period little can be said. The "Instructions of Ȧmenemḥāt I." were, no doubt, originally the work of the king himself, and the Story of Sa-nehat, though known to us only from papyri of a later period, must have been composed about the end of the reign of Usertsen I.; the Story of the Shipwreck belongs, according to M. Maspero,[1] to about the same period, as well as some other stories which have only come down to us in a fragmentary condition. Under the heading of secular literature may also be mentioned the collection of wills and other legal documents, which were found at Kahûn by Professor Petrie;[2] these documents are of peculiar interest, inasmuch as they throw great light upon the domestic and family affairs of middle-class Egyptians at this period. Moreover, Kahûn itself is of great interest on account of the excavations which have been conducted both there and at Illahûn, and which have revealed to us the oldest towns that have hitherto been uncovered. The town of Illahûn was made specially for the workmen who were building the neighbouring pyramid of Usertsen II., and it seems that temporary towns of a similar character always sprang up wherever pyramids were being built. It will be noticed that the kings of the XIIth Dynasty continued to build pyramid tombs, as their ancestors in

[1] *Contes Populaires*, p. 135 ff.

[2] See Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, London, 1899.



Fowling Scene. From a tomb of the XIIth Dynasty.

the Ancient Empire had done, but they were much smaller than the mighty pyramids of the IVth Dynasty.

The greatest engineering work of the Middle Empire was the construction of Lake Moeris, which was neither more nor less than a gigantic reservoir; part of this wonderful work is now represented by the Birket al-Ḳarûn, in the province of the Fayyûm, which, with the exception of the district known as Sheṭ in the hieroglyphic inscription, the site of the city Crocodilopolis or Arsinoë, the seat of the worship of Sebek, was almost entirely covered by the waters of Lake Moeris in ancient days. It is possible that a great swamp existed at this place from time immemorial, and many kings may have carried out in connection with it works of regulation and reclamation; but to Amenemḥāt III. certainly belongs the credit of having finally fixed the extent of the Lake, and of building the works necessary for the provision of a regular and constant supply of water to the neighbouring country. To the same king is attributed the building of the Labyrinth, of which we have spoken at length.[1] The kings of the XIIth Dynasty were not great temple builders, and indeed, the temples did not receive any considerable support from them, a fact no doubt due to the weakness of the priesthood at this time. The old temple of Ámen at Karnak, which must have been a very insignificant building, was, however, greatly enlarged and adorned by the first kings of the XIIth Dynasty, and we know

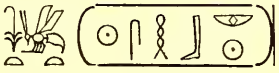
[1] See above, p. 48 ff.

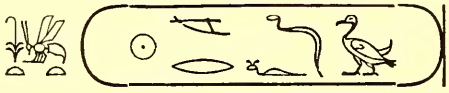
that Usertsen I. added largely to the temple of the Sun-god at Heliopolis, and that he distinguished it by the erection of a pair of red granite obelisks of a height and size previously unknown. The art of the Middle Empire is developed directly out of that of the Ancient Empire, but one of the most prominent of its characteristics is an increased tendency towards realism, which is especially seen in the designs and workmanship of small objects. The scarabs of the XIIth Dynasty are particularly interesting and beautiful.

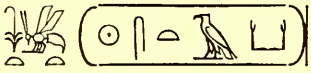
CHAPTER IV.

THE FOURTEENTH DYNASTY. FROM XOÏS.

According to Manetho the XIVth Dynasty comprised seventy-six kings, who reigned in all either 184 or 484 years; the King List of Turin supplies a number of names which may have been those of the kings of this dynasty; transcribed into hieroglyphics they read as follows :—

1.  Rā-seḥeb.

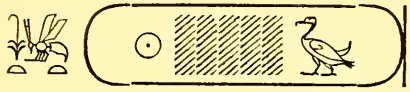
2.  Rā-mer-tchefa.

3.  Rā-sta-ka.

4.  Rā-neb-tchefa.

5.  Rā-uben (II.).

6.  Rā-senefer.....

7.  Rā-.....-tchefa.

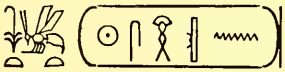
8.  [Rā]-uben (III.).

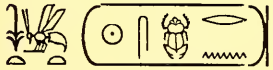
9.  Rā-āut-ab.

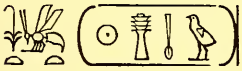
10.  Rā-her-ab.

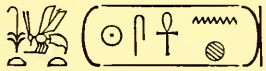
11.  Rā-neb-senu.

12. [Name wanting.]

13.  Rā-seuaḥ-en.

14.  Rā-sekheper-Ren.

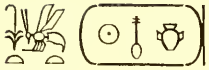
15.  Rā-ṭeṭ-kheru.

16.  Rā-seānkh-[Ka].

17.  [Rā]-nefer-Tem.

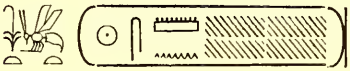
18.  Rā-sekhem-.....

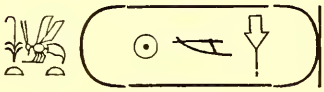
19.  Rā-ka-.....

20.  Rā-NEFER-ÀB.

21.  Rā-À-.....

22.  Rā-NEFER-KA-.....

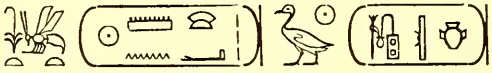
23.  Rā-SMEN-.....

24.  Rā-MER-SEKHEM.

25. [Name wanting.]

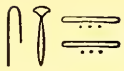
26. [Name wanting.]

27.  Rā-SENEFER-.....

28.  Rā-MEN-KHĀU, son of the Sun, ĀNÀB.

A stele which was found by Mariette at Abydos[1] provides us with a relief in which this king is represented in the act of adoring Àmsu, or Min, of Coptos, and the accompanying text shows that he was adoring Osiris, Khent Àmenti, at the same time. The stele also gives the Horus name of the king, which is

[1] See *Abydos*, tom. ii. pl. 27.

SE-UATCH-TAUI , i.e., "He who maketh fertile the two lands."

29. [Name wanting.]

30. [Name wanting.]

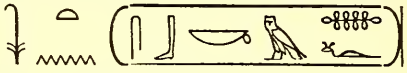
31. 

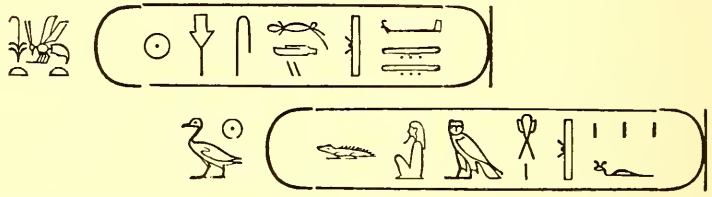
RĀ-SEKHEM-UATCH-KHĀU, son of the Sun, SEBEK-EM-SA-F.

The monuments which remain of this king, SEBEK-EM-SA-F, though few, are very interesting. On the rocks in the valley of Ḥammâmât are two scenes in which he is represented in the act of making offerings to the god Àmsu, or Min, of Coptos,[1] and this fact indicates that the quarries were worked there during his reign. A red granite standing statue of the king was found at Abydos, where, it would seem, he carried on some works; on it he is called "beautiful "god, lord of the two lands, the lord, maker of created "things." On the base of the statue is sculptured a figure of his son, who is called Sebek-em-sa-f.[2] As belonging to the period of this king may be mentioned the fine green basalt funereal scarab, set in a gold plinth, and inscribed with parts of the text of Chapters XXXB. and LXIV. of the *Book of the Dead*, which is

[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. pl. 151, *k* and *l*.

[2] For a drawing of it see Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. ii. pl. 26.

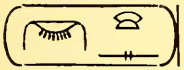
now preserved in the British Museum (No. 7876). On the edge of the gold plinth are found the words, "King Sebek-em-sa-f," , and it is probable that this very interesting object, which was found at Ḳûrna, where it was bought by Mr. Salt, came from the king's tomb. Prof. Wiedemann mentions a small sepulchral box, inscribed with the name of Sebek-em-sa-f, which also probably belonged to the king; a small green basalt scarab set in a gold covering upon which are inscribed the king's name and titles is also known.[1]

32. 

RĀ-SEKHEM-SHEṬI-TAUI, son of the Sun, SEBEK-EM-SAU-F.

The principal monument known to us of the reign of SEBEK-EM-SAU-F is the limestone cone which commemorates the scribe of the temple of Sebek called Sebek-ḥetep, and his wife Āuḥetàb , and which is now preserved in the British Museum (No. 1163). We read in the Abbott Papyrus[2] that in the sixteenth

[1] See Hilton Price, *Catalogue*, London, 1897, p. 27, No. 187.
[2] See Maspero, *Enquête*, p. 18.

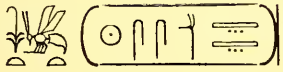
year of the reign of Rameses IX. the tomb of Sebek-em-sau-f had been broken into by thieves, who had cut their way into it through the wall of the outer chamber of the superintendent of the granaries of king Thothmes III., which was close by. That part of the tomb in which the king had been buried was empty, as was also the other part of the tomb wherein the body of the "great royal wife Nub-khā-s"  had been laid, and it seems that the evildoers had completely wrecked the bodies. Robberies of royal tombs had at this period become very common, and the Government were driven eventually to appoint a Commission which should inquire into



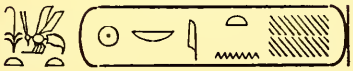
Sepulchral conical stele of the scribe Sebek-ḥetep, who flourished in the reign of Sebek-em-sau-f. British Museum, No. 1163.

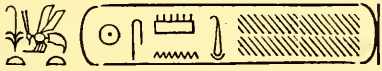
the matter, and report on the damage done by the thieves. The members of this Commission visited the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, and it seems that they collected evidence on the spot; certain of the thieves turned king's witnesses, and others confessed their guilt, and by good fortune, among the papyri in the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney, is one which records the confession of one of the thieves who broke into the tombs of Sebek-em-sau-f and his wife, and wrecked their mummies. He says that the tomb of Queen Nub-khā-s was "surrounded by masonry, "closed up with stones, protected by rubble, covered "with slabs, but we penetrated them notwithstanding, "and covered over with *khesh-khesh*, and demolished it "with work, and we found it [i.e., the queen's mummy] "resting likewise. We opened their coffins and their "wrappings which were in them, and we found this "noble mummy of this king. It was found; there "were two swords and things many of amulets and "necklaces of gold on his neck, his head was covered "with gold upon it. The noble mummy of this king "was adorned with gold throughout. Its wrappings "were graven with gold and silver within and without "and covered with every precious stone. We tore off "the gold that we found on the noble mummy of this "god, together with his amulets and necklaces which "were on his neck, and the wrappings on which they "rested. We found the royal wife likewise. We tore "off all that which we found from it likewise and we

"set fire to their wrappings. We took their furniture "which we found with them [consisting of] gold and "silver and copper vases and we divided, and we made "this gold which we found upon these two gods on "their noble mummies and the amulets and the "necklaces and the wrappings into eight pieces "[i.e., lots]." It is pleasing to know that the eight men who were concerned in the robbery of the tomb "were examined with blows of the stick," and that "they were beaten upon their feet."[1] The Museum of the Louvre possesses a stele of Queen Nub-khā-s, which M. E. de Rougé, as far back as 1876, attributed to the XIIIth Dynasty,[2] and Prof. Wiedemann identified her as the wife of Sebek-em-sa-f; thanks to the Abbott Papyrus we now know that she was the wife of Sebek-em-sau-f.

33.  Rā-sesuser-taui.

34.  Rā-neb-ȧti-.....

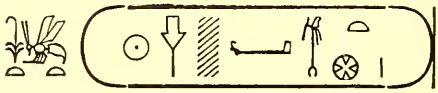
35.  Rā-neb-ȧten-.....

36.  Rā-smen-[Ra].

[1] See Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri*, London, 1899, pp. 25, 27.

[2] See *Notice Sommaire des Monuments Égyptiens*, Paris, 1876, p. 47 (C. 13). The genealogy of this queen is given by Pierret, *Études Égyptologiques*, Paris, 1878, Liv. 8, pp. 5, 6.

37.  Rā-seusert-À.....

38.  Rā-sekhem-Uast.

39. [Name wanting.]

40. [Name wanting.]

41. [Name wanting.]

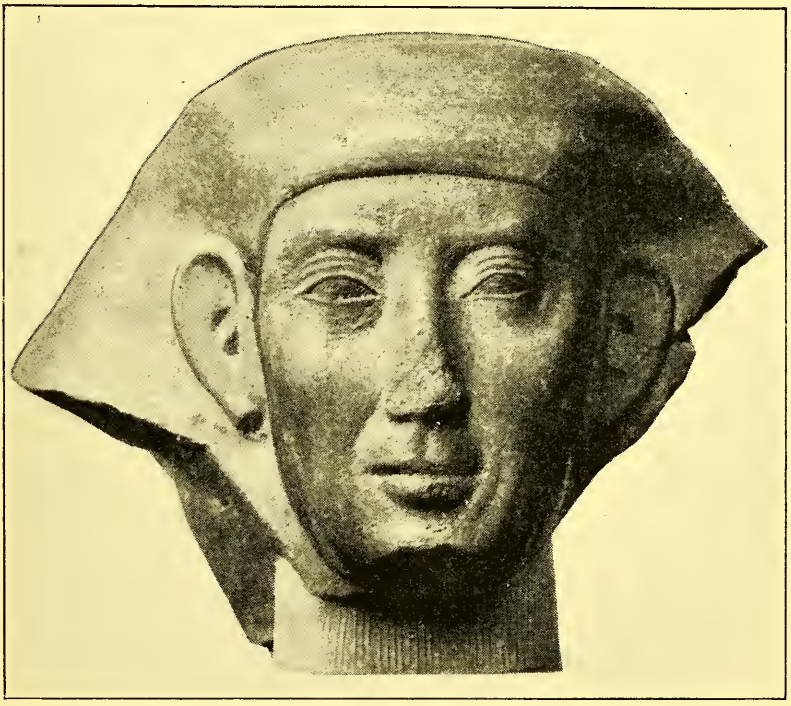
42.  Rā-user-.....

43.  Rā-user-..... [1]

With the exception of one or two of the kings whose names are given in the above list, e.g., Sebek-em-sa-f and Sebek-em-sau-f, who, however, probably lived in the period of the XIIIth Dynasty, none of the monarchs of the XIVth Dynasty can ever have possessed dominion over Egypt, south and north, and if they all actually reigned, some of their reigns must have been contemporaneous. Moreover, it is very probable,

[1] Parts of about thirty other royal names of the XIVth Dynasty will be seen in the fragments of the Turin Papyrus, but they are not worth recording here; they will be found duly set out in the *Aegyptische Geschichte* of Prof. Wiedemann, pp. 274, 275, where also is given a list of names derived from stelae, scarabs, and other monuments, which seem to belong to the period of the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties (pp. 275–283).

as some have supposed, that the kings of the XIVth Dynasty ruled in the Delta and in the north of Egypt whilst the later kings of the XIIIth Dynasty were ruling in the Thebaïd. In any case, the almost total absence of monuments of the kings of the XIVth



Head of a portrait statue of an official. XIVth Dynasty. British Museum, No. 997.

Dynasty proves that their power in the land was very small, and that, in consequence, Egypt lay defenceless before any attack that might be made by Libyan, or Syrian, or Negro. The rich and fertile country of Egypt was coveted by her hereditary foes from time

immemorial, and she fell an easy prey before them under the failing power of the kings of the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties. The Syrians and people belonging to the nomad tribes of the desert had been quietly settling in the Delta for centuries, and had been making themselves owners of lands and estates. For some reason which is unknown to us the immigration of the foreigners from the east increased largely, and their kinsmen, who were already in the country, making common cause with them, they seized the land and set up a king over them. The rulers of the people who did these things are called by Manetho "Hyksos," or "Shepherd-Kings."

CHAPTER V.

THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH DYNASTIES.

THE HYKSOS OR SHEPHERDS.

We have already seen that at the end of the XIIIth Dynasty the government of Egypt had become so feeble that it could not set up one king sufficiently strong to prove himself master of the entire country, and we find that Egypt was soon after the end of the period of that dynasty taken possession of without war and strife, not by a nation but by a confederation of nomad tribes, which are known as the "Hyksos." Of the origin of these people little is known, and of the exact period when they made themselves masters of Egypt nothing is known, and all that has come down to us are a few statements concerning the Hyksos which the historian Josephus quotes from the lost Egyptian History of Manetho, not with the view of giving us information about them, but merely in support of his theory that the Hyksos kings of Egypt were ancestors of the Jewish nation. Many years ago a theory was put forward by Lepsius to the effect that

the Hyksos invasion of Egypt took place at the end of the XIIth Dynasty,[1] but this was soon proved by de Rougé[2] to be impossible, and the view expressed later by Lepsius that it took place early in the XIIIth Dynasty was soon seen to be equally impossible, for at that period the Egyptian kings were indeed masters of their own country.

The Egyptian monuments tell us nothing about the Hyksos, but we are certainly right in assuming that they were only a vast gathering of tribes from the Sinaitic Peninsula, the Eastern Desert, Palestine, and Syria, whole sections of which, from time to time, migrated into the Delta and settled down there; but before we consider these we may analyze the statements made by Manetho concerning the Hyksos.[3] He says that the people who invaded the country were of ignoble race, *ἄνθρωποι τὸ γένος ἄσημοι*, and that they conquered the country without a battle; this, M. Maspero thinks very possible, because the invaders were provided with chariots drawn by horses, which would enable them to move swiftly from one place to another at a pace unknown to the Egyptian soldiers. Having seized the local governors, they burnt

[1] See *Königsbuch*, p. 21.

[2] *Examen de l'Ouvrage de M. le Chevalier de Bunsen*, ii. p. 35.

[3] See Josephus against Apion, I. 14. Apion was a Greek grammarian who flourished in the first half of the first century of our era; he was a native of Oasis, and was the author of many works, one at least of which contained several attacks upon the Jews.

the Egyptian cities, destroyed the temples, and reduced the people to a state of slavery, but Josephus has here probably exaggerated the force of Manetho's words. The invaders set up a king called Salatis at Memphis, and he became lord of the South and North; he established garrisons (probably in Upper Egypt), but gave his chief attention to the guarding of the eastern frontier of the country, because he feared the growing power of the Assyrians. In this statement we seem to have a reflection of solid historical fact, for the Assyrians here referred to are, no doubt, those who were dwellers in Mesopotamia, and who were subjects of the viceroys of the kingdom afterwards called Assyria, which they ruled on behalf of their overlords, the kings of Babylon, i.e., Khammurabi and his immediate successors.[1] The dwellers in Syria and Palestine joined with the nomadic tribes of the Eastern Desert, and fled to Egypt for safety, and it needed little foresight to see that they might easily be pursued thither by the victorious armies of Assyria and Babylon. As a precautionary measure Salatis rebuilt the city of Avaris, i.e., the "Ḥet-Uārt," , of the Egyptian inscriptions, which must have been close to Tanis, in the Sethroïte nome, upon the east of the Bubastite channel, and he garrisoned it with a force of 250,000 men. A garrison

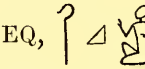
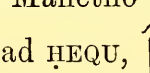
[1] I.e., Sumu-abu, Sumu-la-ilu, Zabum, Apil-Sin, Sin-Muballiṭ, and Ḫammurabi; see King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, vol. iii. p. lxvi. ff.

here must have been greatly needed, chiefly on account of the restless condition of the tribes of Western Asia at this period.

We know as a matter of history that the Babylonians had dispossessed the Sumerian, or non-Semitic, peoples of southern Babylonia and had occupied their cities, but soon after they had taken possession of the country and had begun to establish a strong government, they were in their turn exposed to the invasion of a race of people from the east, i.e., the Kassites. The Elamites had in times past attacked the kings of the cities of the plain of Babylonia, and they must have greatly harassed the early rulers of the Ist Dynasty of Babylon. Ḥammurabi finally broke the Elamite power in the 30th and 31st years of his reign,[1] but these bitter foes of Babylon were succeeded by the Kassites, who, in the reign of Samsu-iluna, the son and successor of Khammurabi, first appear in Babylonia. Samsu-iluna defeated the Kassites[2] in the ninth year of his reign, but though driven off on this occasion, the Kassite raid was only the first of many,[3] and eventually the Kassites founded a dynasty at Babylon. The Elamite and Kassite pressure from the east caused an emigration from Babylonia and her dependencies westwards and southwards, and the people thus dispossessed drove before them the nomadic tribes on the north-east frontier of Egypt from their lands, and thrust them

[1] King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, p. 236 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 242 ff. [3] *Ibid.*, p. lxix.

into Egypt. It was to protect Egypt against such folk that Salatis built his fort, and if the number of 250,000 soldiers seems high, we must remember that we are dealing with oriental documents. The city of Avaris cannot have been founded by Salatis, as some have thought, for its name is mentioned in an inscription of king Neḥsi,[1] and it is, in any case, far more likely that Salatis fortified an old city than that he built a new one.

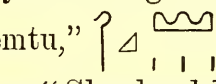
The Hyksos kings, according to Manetho, were six in number, and their names were:—Salatis,[2] or Saïtes, who reigned 19 years; Bnon,[3] or Beon, who reigned 44 years; Pachnan,[4] who reigned 61 years; Staan,[5] who reigned 50 years; Archles,[6] who reigned 49 years; and Aphobis,[7] who reigned 61 years; i.e., 6 kings in 284 years. The meaning assigned to the name "Hyksos" by Manetho is "Shepherd-Kings," and he says that the first syllable, ὑκ, means "king," and the second, σως, "shepherd." Now, the syllable HYK is clearly the Egyptian word ḤEQ, , "king, prince, chief," and the like, but as Manetho speaks of "kings" (in the plural) we must read ḤEQU, . The second syllable, σως, must represent the Egyptian word SHASU, , i.e., "nomad, desert

[1] *Recueil*, tom. xv. p. 98; Mariette, *Monuments*, pl. 63.

[2] Σάλιτις. [3] Βνών. [4] Ἀπαχνάς, or Παχναν.

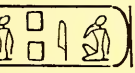
[5] Ἀννάς, Σταάν, Ἰάννας. [6] Or, Ἄσσις, Ἀσσῆθ.

[7] Ἄφωφις, Αφωβις, Ἄπωφις.

dwellers," or "keepers of flocks and herds," or, "shepherds." But we must remember that the word is not an old one, and that it is doubtful if it was in use in the time of the XVth Dynasty; in the XIXth Dynasty *shasu* means a "desert man," preferably a Syrian, and it was only in much later times that it came to mean "shepherd." The ancient names for the people who were in late times called "Shasu," are "Menti," "Sati," and Āamu." In the words "Ḥequ Shasu," , which have been corrupted into "Hyksos," we no doubt see the plural form of the equivalent of the title which the Hyksos king Khian adopted as his own, i.e., "Ḥeq semtu," , "Prince of the deserts," and therefore "Shepherd-Kings" is not an inaccurate rendering of them so long as we understand that the kings were desert folk. In the extract from Josephus given below a second meaning is given to the name "Hyksos," i.e., in another copy of the work it is said to mean "captive shepherds" and not "kings."[1] This question has been discussed by Krall,[2] who would in this case derive the first syllable of the name from the Egyptian word *ḥaq*, , "prisoner," so that "Ḥaq Shasu" would mean "prisoner (or, prisoners) of the nomad desert tribes" (shasu). Finally, Josephus

[1] Ἐν δὲ ἀλλῳ ἀντιγράφῳ οὐ Βασιλεῖς σημαίνεσθαι διὰ τῆς τοῦ ΰκ προσηγορίας, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον αἰχμαλώτους δηλοῦσθαι ποιμένας.

[2] *Aeg. Studien*, vol. ii. p. 69.

quoting Manetho says that the Hyksos kept possession of Egypt for 511 years, and Julius Africanus declares that the period was 518 years; but it is impossible for the total of the reigns of the XVth Dynasty to amount to either of these numbers of years; we must therefore assume that the period of 511, or 518 years, represents the whole of the time which the Hyksos spent in Egypt. The last king of the Hyksos Dynasty, who fought against the king of Thebes and was beaten by him, was called Aphobis, in whom we must see the king whose name in hieroglyphics is spelt Ápepȧ, , and we must therefore, as M. Naville has said, admit that "there is an inversion in the "statement of the chronographers, and we consider "the kings of whom they give a list as the XVIth "Dynasty."[1] It is, of course, possible that two dynasties of Hyksos kings existed, but if they did, the names of one of them have not yet been found.

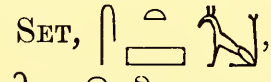
When the Hyksos arrived in Egypt it is very probable that the fiery sons of the desert committed sacrilege and a great number of appalling atrocities, and they no doubt deserved the abuse which was heaped upon them. By the Egyptians themselves the people who were certainly Hyksos were called "ȧaṭṭi," , a word which has been rendered "rebels," and "invaders," and "plague-bearers," and even "pestilence";

[1] *Bubastis*, 1891, p. 21.

but an attempt has been made recently to show that it means "men smitten with the fever *ȧaṭ*," i.e., with malaria, and M. Maspero accepts the word as meaning "les 'Fiévreux."[1] It is difficult to say exactly what modern word would adequately express the feelings of hatred and contempt which the Egyptians felt for their invaders, but, judging by the context of the narrative in which the abusive epithet occurs, "fever-stricken" is not strong enough. When the Hyksos had been in Egypt some time they seem to have settled down to the life there comfortably, and to have enjoyed the fertility and comparative luxury of the country; in the early part of their occupation of the land they must have employed the natives to help to rule it, and to carry on the administrative machinery which produced taxes for the support of their conquerors by means of them, just as the English authorities are employing the Copts and other natives to perform similar services at the present day. Meanwhile, little by little, the invaders adopted the customs of the country, and they appear to have gained some respect for the religion of the people whom they ruled. As they grew to understand it better their persecution of the priesthood and their destruction of the property of the gods of Egypt ceased, and they began to be attracted by the stately worship and religious ceremonies of those who performed their will. Moreover, as the necessaries of life were provided

[1] *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 57, note 4.

for them and they had little need either to fight or work for their daily bread, they became tolerant, and before many generations had passed, the fierce hordes of the desert, who had lived by their spears and bows, became tolerably peaceful folk who had settled down to the enjoyment of the fertile country of the Delta, and who began to speak the Egyptian language. Almost unconsciously the Hyksos rulers began to desire the pomps and ceremonies which attended the old, legitimate kings of Egypt, and the people who had begun their existence in wretched tent encampments in the open desert, and had lived the life of hardship inseparable therefrom, ended by entirely adopting the religion, learning, and civilization of the nation which they had tried to destroy.

Excavations made in recent years prove that the Hyksos kings called themselves "sons of Rā," as did the old kings of Egypt, that they usurped the statues of their predecessors in the most approved Egyptian fashion, and although they, no doubt, adored the gods of their tribes, they also worshipped a god called SET, , or SUTI, , or SUTEKH, , and they found no difficulty in adoring the other deities of the country. The god Set is, of course, an Egyptian god, but, as many of his attributes resembled those of their own great god, possibly Baal, they adopted him as their principal deity; the god Sutekh is also generally regarded as the

equivalent of Baal, the addition *kh*[1] or *khu*, being an "emphatic termination" intended to express "greatness," or "majesty." The god Set is usually depicted with the body of a man and the head of a fabulous animal, which was thought to live in the Eastern Desert; he was originally a twin-brother of Horus, and took a very prominent part in assisting the deceased in the underworld, but in the New Empire, probably because he had been chosen chief of the gods of the Hyksos, he fell into disgrace, and his statues and images were broken or dashed to pieces. The temples which the Hyksos had built at Avaris and Tanis, and at other places in the Delta in honour of this god were overthrown, even though they contained the halls, etc., which had been built by the kings of the XIIth and earlier dynasties; but it is interesting to note in passing that Rameses the Great was not ashamed to usurp a colossal statue of Mermashāu, which had already been usurped by the Hyksos king Ȧpepȧ! Many of the statues erected by the Hyksos represent their peculiarities of countenance, and the un-Egyptian arrangement of the beard, and the remarkable headdress which distinguished them from the Egyptians, but still there is in them everywhere apparent the signs of the influence of the old Egyptian art and its methods of representing the human form in stone. On the other hand, the Egyptians seem to have borrowed certain

[1] See Chabas, *Pasteurs en Égypte*, p. 35.

designs and artistic forms from the Hyksos, and it is usually thought that the winged sphinx "may be "reckoned a notable example of this new direction of "art introduced from abroad."[1]

Before passing to the consideration and description of the actual monuments which the Hyksos kings have left us it will be well to give in full the narrative by Josephus of the invasion and expulsion of the Hyksos. The present writer believes that Josephus does not give us an accurate rendering of the words of Manetho, whom he professes to quote, and thinks that his version of them is misleading. He begins by referring to the Egyptian king Timaus, whose land was invaded by the Hyksos, whom he afterwards identifies as the "Shepherds," and then goes on to say that these Semites became kings of Egypt. Moreover, it is clear that he wishes to make his readers believe that the Hebrew nation occupied a most exalted position in the country from a very early period, i.e., that a Hebrew was king of Egypt about B.C. 2000. That Semites dwelt in the Delta at that period is certain, and that migration of companies of Semites into Egypt went on at that time, and much later, is also certain, but none of the available evidence supports the view which Josephus suggests to his readers. The Semitic invaders of the Delta at that time were called "Āamu," and "Menti," etc., and not "Shasu," and it is only in the

[1] Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 237.

latest period that the last-mentioned word came to mean "shepherd."[1] The word "shasu" means primarily "robber," and  is the "land of the robber," i.e., the nomad desert man, who plundered caravans whenever he had the opportunity. In process of time the word "shasu" came to mean the dweller in the desert generally, and a little later "shasu" (plur. ) meant "desert tribes." The length which Josephus assigns to the duration of the Hyksos rule in Egypt is incredibly long, for there is no room for this period of 511 years in Egyptian chronology, unless he intends us to understand that he reckons the beginning of the period from the time when the Semites *first* began to settle in Egypt. In short, the narrative of the invasion of the Hyksos as given by Josephus can only be regarded as a poetic version of the simple historical facts that Semitic tribes settled in the Delta in very early times, and that in due course various members of them occupied positions of importance in the land, and that eventually their descendants became kings of Egypt.[2]

[1] See Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 29. Compare the Coptic ⲤⲰⲤⲈ, and see de Cara, *Gli Hyksôs o Re Pastori di Egitto*, Rome, 1889, p. 221 ff.; and Müller, *Asien und Europa nach Altaegyptischen Denkmälern*, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 132, 133.

[2] The matter is well put by Wiedemann (*op. cit.*, p. 287). "Diese und ähnliche Züge des Manethonischen Textes zeigen uns, "dass wir in demselben keinen streng historischen Bericht "wirklicher Ereignisse auf Grund zeitgenössischer Quellen "suchen dürfen. Vielmehr giebt derselbe eine mit Zugrundele-

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS AGAINST APION (i. 14).

THE HYKSOS.

"I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians; "not indeed of those that have written in the Egyptian "language, which it is impossible for me to do. But "Manetho was a man who was by birth an Egyptian, yet "had he made himself master of the Greek learning, as "is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own "country in the Greek tongue, by translating it, as he "saith himself, out of their sacred records: he also finds "great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and false "relations of Egyptian affairs. Now, this Manetho, "in the second book of his Egyptian History, writes "concerning us in the following manner. I will set "down his very words, as if I were to bring the very "man himself into court for a witness:—There was a "king of ours, whose name was Timaus. Under him "it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse "to us, and there came, after a surprising manner, men "of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, and had

"gung jedenfalls historischer Thatsachen poetisch ausgearbeitete "Erzählung über den Hyksos-Einfall. Dabei hat er, was für die "Treue der Überlieferung sehr bedenklich ist, versucht zu "pragmatisieren und synchronistisch andere Völker in seinen "Bericht herein zuziehen. Wir dürfen also in dieser Erzählung "nur den Grundstock als streng historisch betrachten, alle "Details aber müssen wir für eine spätere Ausschmückung "dieser Grundthatsachen halten und auf ihre Benutzung zu "geschichtlichen Zwecken verziehten."

"boldness enough to make an expedition into our "country, and with ease subdued it by force, yet "without our hazarding a battle with them. So when "they had gotten those that governed us under their "power, they afterwards burnt down our cities, and "demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the "inhabitants after a most barbarous manner: nay, "some they slew, and led their children and their "wives into slavery. At length they made one of "themselves king, whose name was SALATIS;[1] he also "lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and "lower regions[2] pay tribute, and left garrisons in "places that were most proper for them. He chiefly "aimed to secure the eastern parts, as foreseeing that "the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, "would be desirous of that kingdom and invade them; "and as he found in the Saïte[3] Nomos a city very "proper for his purpose, and which lay upon the "Bubastite channel, but with regard to a certain "theologic notion was called 'Avaris,'[4] this he rebuilt, "and made very strong by the walls he built about it, "and by a most numerous garrison of two hundred and "forty thousand armed men whom he put into it to "keep it. Thither Salatis came in summer-time, partly

[1] This name seems the equivalent of the Hebrew word שַׁלִּיט, "governor."

[2] I.e., Upper and Lower Egypt.

[3] Read Sethroïte; on the position of the Sethroïte nome see J. de Rougé, *Géog. Ancienne*, p. 96.

[4] This city lay close to Tanis.

"to gather his corn, and pay his soldiers their wages,
"and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby
"to terrify foreigners. When this man had reigned
"thirteen years, after him reigned another, whose
"name was Beon, for forty-four years; after him
"reigned another, called Apachnas, thirty-six years
"and seven months; after him Apophis reigned sixty-
"one years, and then Jonias fifty years and one month;
"after all these reigned Assis forty-nine years and two
"months. And these six were the first rulers among
"them, who were all along making war with the
"Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to
"destroy them to the very roots. The whole nation
"was styled HYCSOS, that is 'SHEPHERD-KINGS'; for
"the first syllable HYC, according to the sacred dialect
"denotes a 'king,' as is SOS, a 'shepherd'—but this
"according to the ordinary dialect, and of these is
"compounded HYCSOS; but some say that these people
"were Arabians. Now, in another copy, it is said:—
"That this word does not denote 'kings,' but on the
"contrary, denotes 'captive shepherds,' and this on
"account of the particle HYC; for that HYC, with the
"aspiration, in the Egyptian tongue again denotes
"'shepherds,' and that expressly also; and this to me
"seems the more probable opinion, and more agreeable
"to ancient history. [But Manetho goes on]:—
"These people, whom we have before named 'kings,'
"and called 'shepherds' also, and their descendants,
"as he says:—kept possession of Egypt five hundred and

"eleven years. After these, he says:—That the kings "of Thebaïs and of the other parts of Egypt made an "insurrection against the shepherds, and that there a "terrible and long war was made between them. He "further says:—That under a king, whose name was "Alisphragmuthosis, the shepherds were subdued by "him, and were indeed driven out of other parts of "Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained "ten thousand acres; this place was named Avaris.

Manetho says:—That the shepherds built a wall round "all this place, which was a large and a strong wall, "and this in order to keep all their possessions and their "prey within a place of strength, but that Thummosis, "the son of Alisphragmuthosis, made an attempt to "take them by force and by siege, with four hundred "and eighty thousand men to lie round about them; "but that, upon his despair of taking the place by that "siege, they came to a composition with them, that "they should leave Egypt, and go without any harm "to be done them whithersoever they would; and "that after this composition was made, they went away "with their whole families and effects, not fewer in "number than two hundred and forty thousand, and "took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness, "for Syria; but that, as they were in fear of the "Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, "they built a city in that country which is now called "Judea, and that large enough to contain this great "number of men, and called it Jerusalem. Now

"Manetho, in another book of his, says:—That this "nation, thus called 'Shepherds,' was also called "'Captives,' in their sacred books. And this account "of his is the truth; for feeding of sheep was the "employment of our forefathers in the most ancient "ages; and as they led such a wandering life in feeding "sheep, they were called 'Shepherds.' Nor was it "without reason that they were called 'Captives' by "the Egyptians, since one of our ancestors, Joseph, told "the king of Egypt that he was a captive, and after-"wards sent for his brethren into Egypt by the king's "permission.

"But now I shall produce the Egyptians as witnesses "to the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore here "bring in Manetho again, and what he writes as to the "order of the times in this case, and thus he speaks:— "When this people or shepherds were gone out of "Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmosis, the king of Egypt, "who drove them out, reigned afterward twenty-five "years and four months, and then died; after him his "son Chebron took the kingdom for thirteen years; "after whom came Amenophis, for twenty years and "seven months; then came his sister Amesses, for "twenty-one years and nine months; after her came "Mephres, for twelve years and nine months; after him "was Mephramuthosis, for twenty-five years and ten "months; after him was Tethmosis, for nine years and "eight months; after him came Amenophis, for thirty "years and ten months; after him came Orus, for

"thirty-six years and five months; then came his "daughter Acenchres, for twelve years and one month; "then was her brother Rathotis, for nine years; then "was Acencheres, for twelve years and five months; "then came another Acencheres, for twelve years and "three months; after him Armais, for four years and "one month; after him was Rameeses, for one year "and four months; after him came Armesses Miam- "moun, for sixty years and two months; after him 'Amenophis, for nineteen years and six months; "after him came Sethosis and Ramesses, who had an "army of horse, and naval force. This king ap- "pointed his brother Armais, to be his deputy over "Egypt. He also gave him all the other authority of "a king, but with these only injunctions, that he "should not wear the diadem, nor be injurious to the "queen, the mother of his children, and that he should "not meddle with the other concubines of the king; "while he made an expedition against Cyprus, and "Phoenicia, and besides against the Assyrians and the "Medes. He then subdued them all, some by his "arms, some without fighting, and some by the terror "of his great army; and being puffed up by the great "successes he had had, he went on still the more "boldly, and overthrew the cities and countries that "lay in the eastern parts; but after some considerable "time Armais, who was left in Egypt, did all these "very things, by way of opposition, which his brother "had forbidden him to do, without fear; for he used

"violence to the queen, and continued to make use of "the rest of the concubines, without sparing any of "them; nay, at the persuasion of his friends he put on "the diadem, and set up to oppose his brother; but "then, he who was set over the priests of Egypt, "wrote letters to Sethosis, and informed him of all that "had happened, and how his brother had set up to "oppose him; he therefore returned back to Pelusium "immediately, and recovered his kingdom again. "The country also was called from his name *Egypt*, "for Manetho says that Sethosis himself was called "Aegyptus, as was his brother Armais called Danaus." (Flavius Josephus against Apion, i. 14, Whiston's Translation.)

The Hyksos kings of whom we have remains are:—

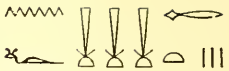
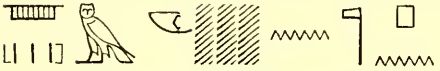
1. [1]

RĀ-ĀA-USER, son of the Sun, ÀPEPÀ.

One of the principal monuments which record the name of this king, ÀPEPÀ I., was found at Bubastis by M. Naville in 1887-1889.[2] It consists of a red granite fragment of a door-post, on which we have the inscription, "Son of the Sun, Àpepà, giver of life," and a mutilated statement to the effect that "he [set up] "pillars in great numbers, and doors in bronze to

[1] I.e., *ānkh neter nefer*, "beautiful god, the living one."

[2] See *Bubastis*, p. 22, and plates xxii. and xxxv.

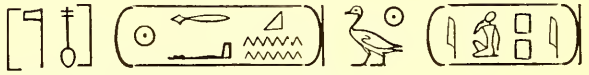
"this god." 1. . 2 
. This is a very important piece of information, for it proves that this Àpepà actually built additions to the ancient temple at Bubastis, and it is interesting to note that the king calls himself "son of the Sun" and "giver of life" after the manner of an old Egyptian king. At Gebelên, in Upper Egypt, M. Daressy reports[1] the finding of the prenomen of Àpepà I. written twice by the side of the winged disk, a fact which proves that the king carried on repairs or building operations far to the south of Thebes. A palette bearing the king's titles, , which once belonged to a scribe in the Hyksos period,[2] was acquired by the Berlin Museum some years ago, and the British Museum possesses the famous mathematical papyrus, which is said to have been written during the reign of this king. It was purchased from Mr. Bremner, who obtained it from the executors of the late Mr. A. H. Rhind, and was purchased by him at Luxor in 1858. This papyrus is stated, in the words which follow its title, to have been copied by the scribe Àāḥmes, in the month Mesore, in the 33rd year of the king of the South and North, Rā-āa-user, from an ancient copy made in the reign of Maāt-en-Rā. This

[1] *Recueil*, tom. xiv. p. 26 (No. xxx.).
[2] Eisenlohr, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1881, p. 97.

last-named king must be Ȧmenemḥāt III., a king of the XIIth Dynasty, who reigned about B.C. 2300. The name of the scribe of the archetype, Ȧāḥmes, however, suggests a period nearer the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, about B.C. 1700, and palaeographical considerations indicate that the Rhind Papyrus was written at a still later period, and that the scribe simply copied everything which he found written in the archetype. Attention was first called to this valuable document by the late Dr. Birch in the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, 1868, and since then its contents have been much discussed[1] by scholars; they deal with arithmetic and measurements of volume and area, and, though none of the examples or problems indicate that the Egyptians had any deep theoretical knowledge of arithmetic or geometry, all of them show that they were very ready in making practical calculations, such, for example, as those which they would need in the remeasurements of their lands after the annual inundations. Prof. Wiedemann has noted that some ancient writers state that the patriarch Joseph arrived in Egypt during the reign of a king called Apapus or Aphobis, who may, perhaps, be identified with Ȧpepȧ I. or Ȧpepȧ II.; the Christian writers

[1] See Eisenlohr, *Ein mathematisches Handbuch der alten Aegypter übersetzt und erläutert*, Leipzig, 1877, Text und Kommentar; the text was also published by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1898 under the title *Facsimile of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, folio, with a short Bibliography of the papyrus.

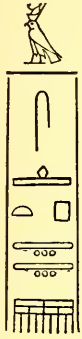
Dionysius of Tell Maḥrê [1] and Bar Hebraeus [2] call him Apopis, ܐܦܘܦܝ, and Apapos, ܐܦܐܦ. Whether this be so or not cannot be said definitely, but it is very probable that Jacob's son went down into Egypt during the period of the XVIth Dynasty, when the Hyksos had to all intents and purposes become Egyptians. The picture of the Egyptian court, given to us by the narrative in the Book of Genesis, makes it exceedingly improbable that his visit took place during the unsettled times of the XVth Dynasty, before the usurping Semites had settled down to enjoy the property of those whom they had dispossessed.

2.  Rā-āa-qenen, son of the Sun, Àpepà.

From the discoveries which were made at Tanis by the late Dr. H. Brugsch and others we learn that Àpepà II. inscribed his names and titles upon the right shoulders of two black granite statues of the king Mermashāu which were set up in the temple there; the king calls himself "Son of the Sun," and "giver of life," and "beloved [of Set]." On the sides and back of the statues Rameses II. added his name and titles, and made several alterations in the inscriptions on them; it

[1] Ed. Tullberg, Upsala, 1850, p. 2.
[2] Ed. Bruns, p. 14.

is a curious fact that he caused himself to be called "beloved of Sutekh," .[1]



SE-ḤETEP-TAUI, the Horus name of Àpepà II.

A table of offerings dedicated to Set, on which we find the three principal names of Àpepà II., was obtained by Mariette at Cairo,[2] and it has been supposed that it came from Memphis; if so, it would prove that the king made offerings in the great temple of Ptaḥ there.

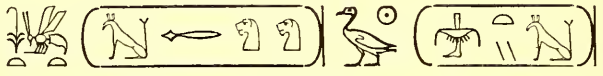
The Museum of the Louvre possesses the base of a red granite statue on which were originally depicted figures of the representatives of thirty-six vanquished Nubian tribes, together with their names; an examination of this object has convinced some[3] that the cartouche of Àmenophis III., now inscribed upon it, was added by the order of this king, who thus usurped a statue which, there is good reason to believe, was set up by Àpepà II. In connection with Àpepà II. must be mentioned here briefly the narrative of the beginning of the quarrel which arose in the XVIIth Dynasty, about B.C. 1750, between the prince of Thebes, who was called Seqenen-Rā Tau-āa-qen,

[1] See E. de Rougé, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, Paris, 1877, plate 76, and Petrie, *Tanis*, plate 3, 17*c*.

[2] *Monuments*, pl. 38.

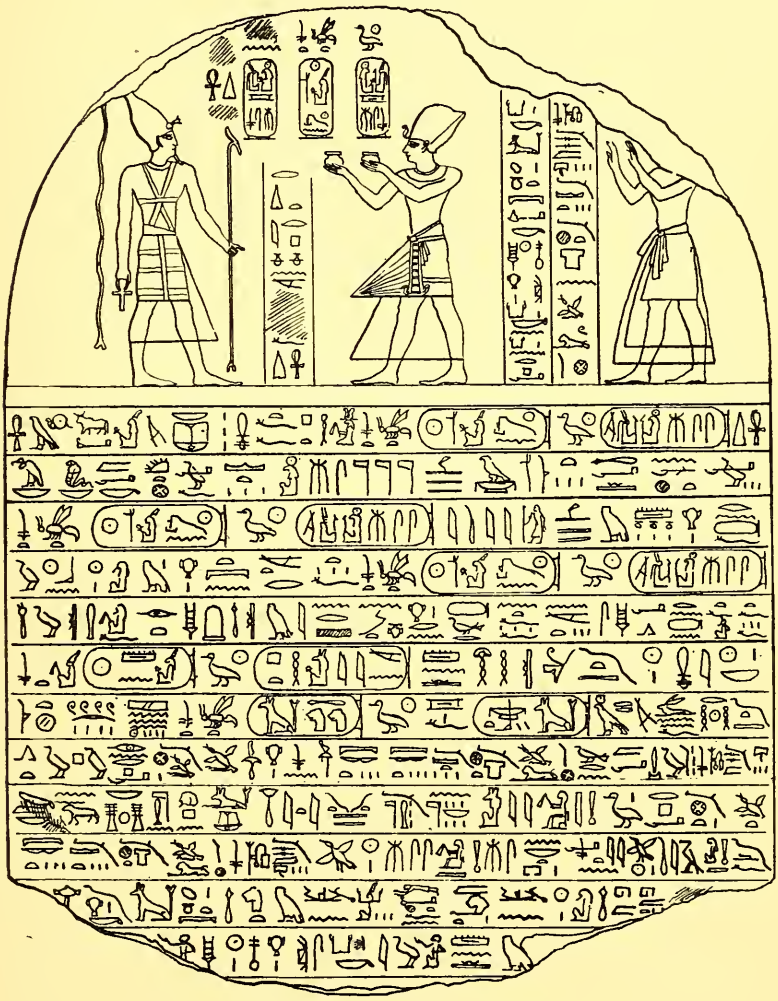
[3] "La légende d'Amenophis III., évidemment gravée en sur-"charge, et le caractère de ce morceau, le font attribuer aujour-"d'hui à un roi de la douzième ou de la treizième dynastie, "auquel il faut par conséquent faire honneur des conquêtes "inscrites sur le socle."—Pierret, *Notice Sommaire*, p. 38.

and the Hyksos king his over-lord; the result of the quarrel was that war broke out, and after varying successes, a pitched battle was fought in which the Hyksos king was defeated, and the Theban prince lost his life. Eventually the Theban princes gained their independence. The Hyksos king is said to have been called Ȧpepȧ, but whether he was Ȧpepȧ II. or another king of the same name cannot be said. A description of the narrative as found in the First Sallier Papyrus, now preserved in the British Museum, will be given in the Chapter on the XVIIth Dynasty.

3.  SET-ĀA-PEḤPEḤ, son of the Sun, NUBTI.

The name of this king, NUBTI, is made known to us by the famous "Stele of Four Hundred Years," which was discovered at Ṣân, or Tanis, in a fragmentary condition, among the battered pieces of five or six sepulchral, or memorial stelae, all of which dated from the reign of Rameses II.; it was found in the eastern portion of the ruins of the great temple at Tanis, at the place where, judging by the general arrangement of the building, the shrine would have stood. In the upper part of the stele we see Rameses II. making an offering of two vases of wine to the god Set, who is depicted in the usual form and with the usual attributes of the gods of Egypt. The god is called in the

text, "Set of Rāmeses," but in the scene above it the name of the god Set has been chiselled out, a piece of



The Stele of Four Hundred Years.

vandalism which was done when the god had ceased to be popular. Behind the king is a figure of the official

who dedicated the stele, and close by him are two lines of text which read, "[Homage] to thy *ka* (or double), "O Set, thou son of Nut, grant thou a life of happiness, "and the following of thy double to the double of the "*erpā* prince, the royal scribe, the superintendent of "the horses, the inspector of the desert lands, and the "overseer of the fortress of Tchar" (i.e. Tanis). The inscription reads:—

(1) "May live Horus Rā, the mighty Bull, beloved "of Maāt, lord of festivals like his father Ptaḥ, King "of the South and North, Usr-Maāt-Rā-setep-en-Rā, "son of the Sun, Rā-meses-meri-Ámen, giver of life, "(2) lord of the shrines of the Vulture and Uraeus, "protector of Egypt, vanquisher of foreign (or moun- "tainous) lands, Rā, the begetter of the gods, over-lord "of the two lands, the Horus of gold, master of years, "mighty one of mighty ones, (3) King of the South "and North,[1] prince, over-lord of the two lands [by "reason of] the monuments of his name, (4) Rā who "riseth in the heights of heaven according to his will, "King of the South and North,[1] Rameses.

(5) "His Majesty commanded the making of a great "stele in granite to the great name of his fathers, "having the wish to establish the name of the "father of his fathers, (6) king Rā-men-Maāt, son of "the Sun, Seti-meri-en-Ptaḥ, permanently and in a

[1] Prenomen and nomen are repeated.

"flourishing condition for ever, like the Sun, every "day."

(7) "Year 400, the fourth day of the fourth month "of the inundation (i.e., Mesore), of the King of the "South and North, (Set-āa-peḥpeḥ), the son of the "Sun, loving him, (Nubti), beloved of Ḥeru-khuti, "whose existence endureth for ever and for ever. "(8) [On this day there came to Tanis] the *erpā*, the "governor of the city, the bearer of the fan on the "king's right hand, captain of the bowmen, inspector "of the desert lands, overseer of the fortress of Tanis, "general of the Mātchau (soldiery?), royal scribe, "superintendent of the horses, (9) priest of Ba-neb-"Ṭaṭṭu, the first prophet of Set, the chief reader of "the goddess Uatchet, the opener of the two lands, "the overseer of the prophets of all the gods, Seti, "triumphant, son of the *erpā* prince, the governor of "the city, (10) the captain of the bowmen, inspector of "desert lands, overseer of the fortress of Tanis, the "royal scribe, superintendent of the horses, Pa-Rā-meses, "triumphant, born of the lady of the house, the sing-"ing woman of Rā, Thaâ, triumphant! He saith, "(11) Homage to thee, O Set, thou son of Nut, thou "mighty one of strength in the Boat of Millions of "Years, thou overthrowest the enemy who is in the "front of the boat of Rā, the mighty one of roar-"ings" The last signs left on the stele contain the prayer for a happy life which has already been

given above.[1] The above translation shows that the stele was set up by an official called Seti, the son of Pa-Rāmeses and Thaâ, in honour of the god Set, and that he did so because Rameses II. gave him orders so to do. Instead, however, of being dated in the day and month and year of the reign of Rameses II., in which it was set up, it is dated in the 400th year of the Hyksos king Nubti, a most remarkable circumstance. M. Mariette wrote a learned disquisition on the Stele, and considered that "l'explication de la stèle est dans "la division de son texte en deux paragraphes indé- "pendants."

The first paragraph contains four lines and refers to Rameses II. only; the second paragraph relates to the governor of the city only, and, according to Mariette, to the celebration of the new year festival and of the festival of the Crocodile-god, the son of Set. He thought that four hundred years before that time the Hyksos king had established a year for his people, and that the Stele marked the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the first day of that year. The reasons he gave for these views seem to be a little fanciful, but there is little doubt that in the reign of Rameses II. some era was in common use, in the Delta at least, which had been inaugurated by the Hyksos. Or as

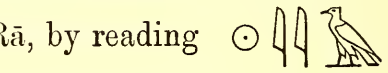
[1] For articles on the Stele of 400 Years see E. de Rougé, *Revue Archéologique*, tom. ix. 1864; Mariette, *ibid.*, tom. xi. p. 169; and Chabas, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1865, pp. 29 and 33, who have pointed out the mistakes which were made in the text by the mason.

Brugsch said, "In the town of Tanis, whose inhabi-
"tants for the most part belonged to the Semitic races,
"this mode of reckoning was in such general use that
"the person who raised the memorial stone thought it
"nothing extraordinary to employ it as a mode of
"reckoning time in the beautifully engraved inscription
"on granite which was exhibited before all eyes in a
"temple."[1] As soon as the Stele had been read and copied by Mariette he buried it carefully near the place where he had seen it, and as it was not found in the course of the explorations which were made at Tanis in 1883-84, we may conclude that it was well hidden. The reproduction of the inscription here given is taken from the plate which accompanied M. Mariette's paper in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1865, but it is much to be regretted that photographic facsimiles cannot be now obtained of the Stele itself.

4.  RĀ-SEUSER-EN, son of the Sun, KHIAN.

In the Chapter on the period which lies between the Ancient and Middle Empires we have referred to the names of three kings which have been attributed by some to that time, but we shall probably be more correct in assigning them to the period of the Hyksos. Of first importance among these is king KHIAN, of whom

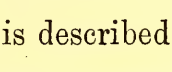
[1] *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 214.

M. Naville[1] discovered the lower part of a colossal statue at Bubastis in black granite. The throne and legs are in a good state of preservation, and, fortunately, the three principal names of the king are clearly legible. The Horus name of Khian was "Anq ȧṭebui," i.e., "embracer of lands"; his Rā name (or prenomen) was at one time read Ian-Rā, by reading , instead of , but Khian is now generally believed to be the correct reading of the characters.[2] Another monument of the reign of Khian is the small stone lion which was acquired at Baghdad for the British Museum[3] by the late Mr. George Smith; its importance was recognized by Devéria, who rightly attributed it to the Hyksos period, but who misread the cartouche. Some think that the lion is not the work of an Egyptian sculptor, and that the object was made in Asia, and that the head, having been damaged and recut at some comparatively modern period, has lost its antique character. Be this as it may, the monument is of very considerable interest, and is unique; moreover, it is the largest object of a purely Egyptian character which has ever been obtained from the excavations that have been carried on in sites of ancient Babylonian cities near Baghdad. We may also conclude in respect of Khian that as his monu-

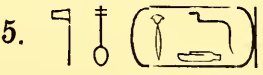
[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 23, plate 35 A.

[2] See Daressy in *Recueil*, tom. xvi. p. 42 (No. lxxxviii.).

[3] Egyptian Gallery, No. 987.

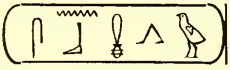
ments have been found in places so widely separated as Bubastis in Egypt, Baghdad in Mesopotamia, and Knossos in Crete, it is pretty certain that he was a powerful monarch, whose rule was far-reaching, and whose influence, as stated in his Horus name, "embraced many lands." That he belonged to the Hyksos people is rendered probable from the fact that on his scarabs he is described as "ḥeq semtu" , i.e., "chief of the deserts," a title which has a meaning almost identical with that of "ḥeq Shasu" , i.e., "chief of the Shasu, or "nomad tribes, which is probably the origin of the "appellation Hyksos." A portrait head of this king is preserved in the British Museum.[1]

Of the kings Uatcheṭ and Ipeq-Ḥeru we know nothing, for their names occur only on scarabs, and we know not whether they reigned before or after Khian, and indeed the position of Khian himself in the Hyksos Dynasty is unknown; it is probable, however, that he reigned before Ȧpepȧ I., and there is reason to think that he was one of the first great Hyksos kings. The following are the forms in which the names of Uatcheṭ and Ipeq-Ḥeru are found on scarabs:—

5. 

6. 

[1] Egyptian Gallery, No. 1063, and see Vol. II. of this work, p. 174.

About this period probably reigned the king called SENBMÀIU , whose name is found inscribed upon a calcareous stone fragment presented to the British Museum by Mr. G. Willoughby Fraser (No. 24,898); it was found by him at Gebelên.[1] To the time of the Hyksos also probably must be assigned the obelisk at Tanis[2] which bears the name and titles of the king RĀ-ĀA-SEḤ; the fragmentary inscriptions which remain on it describe him as the "beautiful "god, the lord of the two lands, the maker of created "things," and say that "he made monuments to his mother."

[1] *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xv. p. 498.

[2] See Petrie, *Tanis*, plate 3, No. 20.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY.
FROM THEBES.

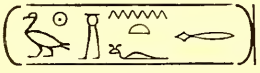
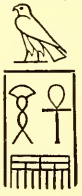
The kings of the XVIIth Dynasty, who began the work of the expulsion of the Hyksos, reigned at Thebes, and as they assumed the old title of "King of the South and North," they were probably the descendants of the kings of the XIIth and XIIIth Dynasties. It is certain that for several generations these princes were vassals of the Hyksos, for remains of the Hyksos domination in the Upper Country have been found as far to the south as Gebelên. There must have been an interval of considerable length between the Theban kings of the XIIIth and XVIIth Dynasties, and during this period it seems that, for a time, the Theban power was transferred to Coptos, where a family of princes, who usually bore the name of Ântef-āa, reigned in succession for at least a century and a half. These princes were, most probably, descendants of the kings of the XIIIth Dynasty, and ancestors of those of the XVIIth Dynasty; their Rā names are of the same

form as those of the kings of the XVIIth Dynasty, and their throne names closely resemble those of the kings of the XIIIth Dynasty. This group of princes has usually been assigned a place with the Menthu-ḥeteps of the XIth Dynasty, but in considering that dynasty we have shown good reasons for thinking it most probable that, whilst the Menthu-ḥeteps and their predecessor the *Erpā ḥā* Àntefà do in reality belong to the XIth Dynasty, the kings who bore the names of Àntef-āa are to be transferred to the period between the XIIIth and XVIIth Dynasties. The reasons which have led to this conclusion have been already set forth, and they are therefore not repeated here; the names of this group of kings are as follows:—

1.  Rā-SESHESH-HER-ḤER-MAĀ, son of the Sun, ÀNTEF-ĀA (I.).

2.  Son of the Sun, ÀNTEF-ĀA (II.).

3.  Rā-SESHESH-ÀP-MAĀ, son of the Sun, ÀNTEF-ĀA (III.).

4.  Son of the Sun, ÀNTEF-ĀA (IV.), with the Horus name UAḤ-ĀNKH, 

5.  Rā-nub-kheperu, son of the Sun, Antef (V.), with the Horus name  Nefer-kheperu.



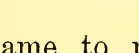
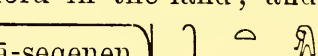
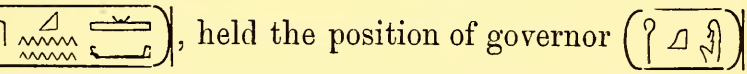
According to Manetho's King List as given by Julius Africanus, the XVIIth Dynasty comprised forty-three kings of Thebes, whose total reigns amounted to 151 years, and forty-three Shepherd Kings, whose total reigns also amounted to 151 years, and it seems that the view held by the authorities from which he compiled his List was that these dynasties reigned contemporaneously. The fact, however, that each dynasty is made to contain exactly the same number of kings, and to last exactly the same number of years, suggests a chronological arrangement which is purely artificial. In the extract from Josephus already quoted we are told that the duration of the Hyksos rule over Egypt was 511[1] years, and that it was brought to an end by a native Egyptian king called Misphragmuthosis or Alisphragmuthosis, who smote the Hyksos and shut them up in a place called Avaris, which had an area of 10,000 acres. This place the Hyksos fortified strongly by means of a "vast and strong wall." But Thummosis, the son of

[1] M. Maspero adopts Erman's view that the XVth Dynasty reigned 284 years, the XVIth 234 years, and the XVIIth 143 years, in all, 661 years, and he places the invasion about B.C. 2346. *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 73.

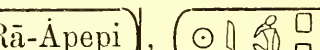
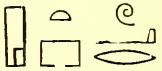
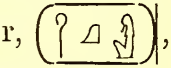
Alisphragmuthosis, besieged Avaris with 480,000 men, and at the very moment when he despaired of reducing the city, the people inside it capitulated on the understanding that they were to leave Egypt, and to be permitted to go whithersoever they pleased. These terms were agreed to, and they departed from Egypt with all "their families and effects, in number not less "than 240,000, and bent their way through the desert "towards Syria." They were afraid of the Assyrians, who were then masters of Asia, and they therefore built, in the country now called Judea, a city of sufficient size to contain this multitude of men, and they gave it the name of Jerusalem.[1] The events here referred to, if they ever happened, must have taken place in the XVIIIth Dynasty, for the king called Thummosis must be one of those of the dynasty who bore the name of Thothmes, and therefore Josephus must be confusing, first, names, and, secondly, events. The huge numbers which he gives are, of course, incredible, and he is mistaken about the period of the building of Jerusalem, for the name of the city occurs in three of the Tell el-'Amarna Tablets,[2] from which we learn that the governor at that time had been appointed by the king of Egypt, and the context shows that the city was not a new one. The allusion to the departure of 240,000 people he calls the Exodus, but this subject will not be considered until later.

[1] Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 173.

[2] See Winckler, *Thontafeln*, plates 105, 108, 110.

Side by side with the account of Josephus may be read the fragmentary narrative of the dispute between the governor of Thebes and the Hyksos king in the Delta, which resulted, first, in a great war, and secondly, in the restoration of the sovereignty of the country to the princes of Thebes. It must be said at the outset that the document is only a part of a historical romance, and that it must not be relied upon for matter-of-fact evidence; its value, notwithstanding, is very great, for the copy, of which we possess a part in the First Sallier Papyrus[1] (Brit. Mus., No. 10,185), was written in the XIXth Dynasty, and it, no doubt, represented the views of many people at that time. Had the romance not been based upon some substratum of fact, or had what is narrated in it been wholly improbable, it would never have found a place among the compositions which are preserved in the First Sallier Papyrus. The narrative begins by stating that the land of Qemt, i.e., Egypt, belonged to the "people of filth," , and there was neither king nor lord in the land; and it came to pass that king , , held the position of governor  of the region of the South, and the "filthy" ones, i.e.,

[1] The hieratic text of the document was published by the late Dr. Birch in *Select Papyri*, pt. i. pl. 2. Translations are given in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. 4, p. 263 ff.; Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 238; Chabas, *Les Pasteurs*, p. 37 ff.; Maspero, *Études*, tom. i. fasc. 2, p. 195 ff.; etc.

the Semitic Hyksos of the city of Rā, were under the authority of the ruler, (Rā-Àpepi), (), in the city of Ḥet-Uārt, i.e., Avaris, , to whom the entire country paid tribute, and acknowledged his sovereignty by the giving of service, and of the products of the land and of good things of every kind which the country of Ta-meri, i.e., Egypt, yielded. Now king[1] Rā-Àpepi had made the god Sutekh, , his lord, and he served no other god in all the country except Sutekh, and he built a temple of the most beautiful and enduring work, close by the palace which he had built for himself, and he was wont to rise up regularly each morning and to offer up to Sutekh the sacrifices which were legally due to the god, and the chief officers of the governor, (), used to take up their places there with garlands of flowers, just as they had been wont to do in the temple of Rā-Ḥeru-Khuti.

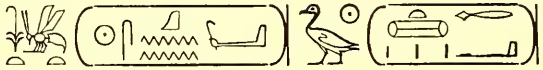
And it came to pass that king (Rā-Àpepi) had the intention of sending a despatch to king (Rā-seqenen), and having assembled his chiefs and nobles, and officers, he seems to have wished to obtain their help in drawing up the terms of it; they, however, failed to give him the assistance which he required, so he sent for his scribes and magicians, and bade them

[1] *Suten*, , is really the name for king of the South.

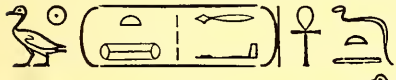
make for him some excuse for picking a quarrel with the king of the South. The broken context suggests that Rā-Àpepi wished to make Seqenen-Rā adopt the worship of Sutekh in his temple at Thebes. When the magicians had come into the king's presence, they suggested that the king should send to Seqenen-Rā a message to this effect:—King Rā-Àpepi commandeth thee, saying, "Let one hunt on the lake the hippopota-"muses which are on the lake of the city, so that they "may let sleep come to me both by day and by night."[1] For, said the magicians, he will not know how to answer this message, whether well or ill. And then thou shalt send a second envoy, saying:—King Rā-Àpepi commandeth thee, thus: "If the governor of the "South doth not answer my message, let him no longer "serve any other god besides Sutekh; but if he maketh "answer thereto, and he doeth that which I tell him to "do, I will take nothing whatsoever from him, and I "will bow myself down never again before any other "god in the whole earth besides Àmen-Rā, the king of "the gods." The writer of the romance wishes to indicate that the hippopotamuses on the lake at Thebes made so much noise, both by day and by night, that Rā-Àpepi could get no sleep in Tanis, and we may readily agree with the magicians who composed the message that the king in the South would not know how to answer it, because he would probably think that Rā-Àpepi had lost his senses, for by no natural

[1] Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 75.

means known in those days could the king in the Delta be disturbed by hearing the plungings and splashings of hippopotamuses in swamps some six hundred miles away. What really happened as a result of Rā-Ápepi's message, or whether it was despatched or not, we shall probably never know, for the part of the papyrus which contains the end of the story is broken. Stripped, however, of all romance, we learn from the document that in the time of Ápepi II. the Hyksos king at Avaris was the over-lord of the governor or king of Thebes, and that all the country paid taxes to him, and also probably performed manual labour for him without payment. It is also clear that at some time or other there must have been a dispute about the supremacy of the god Sutekh, and that about the time of the reign of Seqenen-Rā strife broke out between the king of the North and the governor of the South. The Theban kings of the XVIIth Dynasty whose names are known from hieroglyphic sources are:—

1.  Rā-seqenen, son of the Sun, Ta-āā.

Of the details of the reign of Ta-āā we know nothing, but when he died the country was in a sufficiently settled state to allow his family to build him a tomb in the famous Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, and to bury him with something of the pomp which usually attended the funeral of an Egyptian

king. This king and his tomb are mentioned in the Abbott Papyrus, where we learn that on the 18th day of the 3rd month of the 16th year of the reign of Rameses IX. the tomb was examined by the masons, who were attached to the Commission which had been appointed to report upon the damage done to the royal tombs by the thieves, and was found to be intact.[1] The monuments belonging to this reign are very few, and consist chiefly of (1) a boomerang, which is inscribed on one side with the king's name, Ta-āā, , and on the other with that of his son Thuáu, ,[2] and which was found lying on the mummy of an official at Thebes, and (2) the palette of a scribe[3] on which the owner has cut with a knife the name and titles of his sovereign, thus: "Beautiful god, lord of the two "lands, maker of created things, Rā-seqenen, son of "the Sun, Ta-āā, giver of life for ever, beloved of "Ámen-Rā, beloved of Sesheta."

2. 

SEQENEN-RĀ, son of the Sun, TA-ĀA-ĀA.

Of the reign of TA-ĀA-ĀA also nothing is known, and the only notice concerning him which has come

[1] Maspero, *Enquête*, p. 20.

[2] See Mariette, *Monuments*, pl. 51*b*, 1 and 2.

[3] Figured in Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 75.

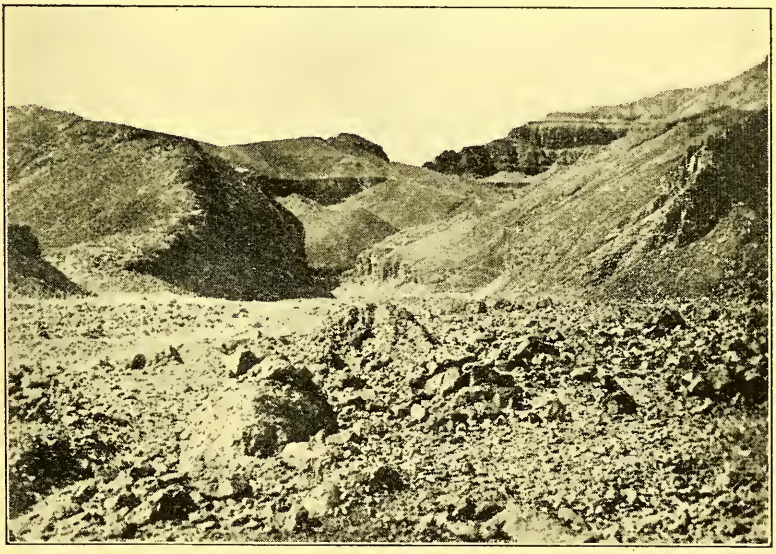
down to us is in the Abbott Papyrus, wherein we read that he was the second king [called] Ta-āa, , and that his grave was examined by the masons on the same day as his predecessor's, and was found to be intact.

3. 

RĀ-SEQENEN, son of the Sun, TA-ĀA-QEN.

Of the reign of TA-ĀA-QEN, as of the reigns of his two predecessors, we know little, but it is perfectly certain that he took a very prominent part in the great struggle of the Thebans with the Hyksos for supremacy, and, if we may judge from the condition in which his mummy was found, he died fighting the "filthy" ones of the north. Where he was killed we know not, but his remains were brought to Thebes, and treated with medicaments and spices and duly buried, probably in a tomb which was specially built for him, and we may assume that his mummy lay undisturbed for some hundreds of years; towards the close of the XXth Dynasty, however, great robberies of the royal tombs were perpetrated, and at length orders were given to collect the royal mummies from their tombs in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, and to bring some of them into one of the largest of the royal tombs, namely, that of Seti I., whilst others were hidden in

the tombs of Amenophis I. and Amenophis II. For some reason or other the mummies of many of the greatest kings of the XVIIIth, XIXth, and XXth Dynasties were again moved, this time to a spot near the modern Dêr al-Baḥarî,[1] and there they lay carefully hidden until 1871, when they were discovered by a native of Shêkh 'Abd al-Ḳûrna, who, together



The Entrance to the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

with his brothers, began to sell them. At length the Egyptian Government heard of the "find," and Herr E. Brugsch Bey was sent to Thebes to bring the mummies

[1] In Arabic, دير البَحْرِيّ, i.e., the "monastery belonging to the river," as opposed to the convent in the mountains; the *a* after *ḥ* is inserted even by many natives to facilitate the pronunciation of the word; the second *ḥ* is omitted in pronunciation.

and all their funeral furniture to Cairo, and this work was duly carried out by him. The principal mummies found at Dêr al-Baḥarî were those of:—Seqenen-Rā (Ta-āa-qen), Amāsis I., Åmen-ḥetep I., Thothmes I., Thothmes II., Thothmes III., Rameses I., Seti I., Rameses II., Rameses III., besides a number of princes and princesses, and members of the dynasty of priest-kings. In 1898, M. Loret found in the tomb of Åmen-ḥetep II. the mummy of that king, and the mummies of Thothmes IV., Åmen-ḥetep III., Åmen-ḥetep IV., Seti II., Sa-Ptaḥ, Rameses IV., Rameses V., Rameses VI., and perhaps also of Seti-nekht.

But to return to Ta-āa-qen. The mummy of this king was unrolled by M. Maspero [1] on June 9, 1886, and when the swathings were removed, one after the other, it was seen that the king's head was turned round to the left, and that long matted tufts of hair hid a large wound in the side of the head in front of the ear. The lips were drawn back in such a way that the teeth and gums protruded through them, and the tongue was caught between the teeth when the king received the blow, and was bitten through, probably as a result of the shock. The left cheek was laid open, also by a blow from an axe or club, and the lower jawbone was broken, and another blow from an axe had split open the skull and made a long slit in it, through which the brains protruded; finally, a stab over the eye from a dagger probably

[1] See *Les Momies Royales de Déir el-Bahari*, Paris, 1889, p. 527.

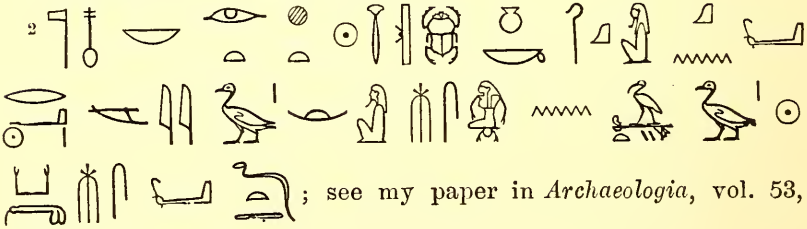
ended the brave man's life. He was about forty years old when he died, and his frame was strong and well-knit together; his head was small, and was covered with masses of black hair, the eyes were long, the nose straight and large at the base, the jawbone strong, the mouth of moderate size, and the teeth were sound and white. One ear had disappeared, but locks of his hair and beard were visible, and M. Maspero thinks that the king was shaved on the very morning of the battle. He is thought to have belonged to one of the Barabara races, but whether he did or not, the race to which he was akin was far less mixed than that to which Rameses II. belonged. Ta-āa-qen is, no doubt, the king who is referred to in the romance in the Sallier Papyrus which we have already described, and there is every reason for believing that the battle in which he fought so splendidly for his country was one in which the Hyksos lost heavily, and it may be that it was the first of the successes which restored the fortunes of the princes of Thebes.

4.  Rā-uatch-kheper, son of the Sun, Ka-mes.

Of the history of the reign of Ka-mes nothing is known, but there is reason for believing that both he and his great successor, Amāsis I., were sons of Ta-āa-qen (Seqenen-Rā III.); he cannot have reigned many years, and when he died he was buried in a tomb

at or near the modern Drah abu'l-Neḳḳa, for the Abbott Papyrus[1] records that in the reign of Rameses IX. the tomb of this king was examined and was found to be intact. The evidence of certain monuments proves that in later times he was worshipped as a god. Scarabs inscribed with his name are known, and some very important weapons in bronze are inscribed with his name and titles. The most remarkable of these is a bronze spear-head in the collection of Sir John Evans, K.C.B., which measures 23¼ inches in length. It was fixed by its socket to a wooden handle by means of a bronze pin, which holds in its place a bronze ring ornamented with a pattern and with the king's prenomen inlaid with gold. Down the blade is an inscription which reads:—"Beautiful god, the lord, maker of "created things, Rā-uatch-kheper. I am a valiant "prince, beloved of Rā, the son of the Moon, born of "Thoth, son of the Sun, Ka-mes, mighty for ever!"[2] In the same collection is a fine bronze axe-head inscribed with the prenomen and nomen of Ka-mes, which, like its fellow in the British Museum, was found in the coffin of Queen Àāḥ-ḥetep, the wife of Ka-mes.

[1] See Maspero, *Enquête*, p. 21.

[2] ; see my paper in *Archaeologia*, vol. 53, p. 84.

Àāḥ-ḥetep lived until she was well over eighty years of age, for she is mentioned on the stele of Kares , her steward, as being alive in the tenth year of the reign of Àmen-ḥetep I.;[1] and it seems as if she was still living in the reign of Thothmes I., for her name occurs on the stele of the official called Iuf, .[2] The coffin of Àāḥ-ḥetep was discovered under very remarkable circumstances. Early in 1859 Mariette noticed at the entrance to the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes what appeared to be the ruins of a tomb, and set men to work to excavate them. During the course of the work the Arabs found close by, in the sand, a handsome gilded wooden coffin which much resembled the coffins of the Àntef princes; when it was opened it was found to contain the mummy of the Queen, large quantities of jewellery, many pieces of which bore the name of Àāḥmes, weapons made of gold also inscribed with the name of Àāḥmes, some bronze weapons, already mentioned, inscribed with the name of Ka-mes, and two models of boats, one in gold and one in silver, provided with crews of rowers, etc. The gold boat was inscribed with the name of Ka-mes, and it is pretty clear that it had been buried with that king; the silver boat was uninscribed.[3] The coffin and

[1] Bouriant, *Recueil*, tom. ix. p. 94 (No. 74).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 93 (No. 72).

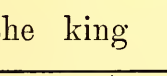
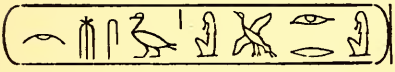
[3] For facsimiles of many of these beautiful objects, see Birch, *Facsimiles of the Egyptian Relics*, London, 1863; and for descriptions see Maspero, *Guide*, p. 78 ff.

its contents were seized by the Mudîr of Ḳena, and although Mariette laid his hands upon him as soon as possible, many of the most beautiful of the objects of jewellery had been sold and had disappeared. It is said that many fine gold objects were melted down by a native of Luxor who possessed the necessary melting-pot and furnace. Many theories have been put forward to explain the finding of the coffin in such a place, but M. Maspero's is the most reasonable; he thinks that it and its contents were taken from the royal tombs by thieves who had plundered them, and who, not being able to dispose of their booty, hid it in the sand until such time as they should be able to come back and take it away. This, however, they were unable to do, because they were probably put to death as a punishment for the robberies which they had committed, and so their secret perished with them; the Abbott Papyrus proves that several of the robbers of royal tombs were punished, and we can only hope that among them were the thieves who plundered the tombs of Åāḥ-ḥetep and her husband Ka-mes.

5.  Rā-sekhent-neb, son of the Sun, Rā-senekht-en.

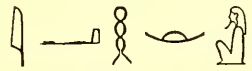
Senekht-en-Rā was probably the son of Ka-mes and Åāḥ-ḥetep, and though his exact position in the King List is unknown, from the fact that the cartouche

containing his name occurs on a white limestone altar preserved at Marseilles side by side with the names of Seqenen-Rā and Ka-mes, it is right to assume that he reigned about the same time as his father. The Marseilles altar has a peculiar value, for it was made for an official called Qenna, who was the scribe of the place of Maāt, that is to say he was attached in his capacity as scribe to the foundation which provided for the worship of all the kings whose names are given on the altar. The kings enumerated on the altar are sixteen in number, and the queens are two, i.e., Àāḥ-ḥetep and Àāḥmes-nefert-àri.[1] M. Daressy has given proof that Rā-sekhent-neb and Rā-senekht-en are one and the same person.[2]

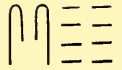
To this period must probably be assigned the reign of the king  called Àāḥ-mes-sa-pa-àr , whose tomb, according to the Abbott Papyrus, was examined in the reign of Rameses IX. and found to be intact. We know that Ka-mes and Àāḥ-ḥetep had several children besides Senekhten-Rā and Amāsis I., and it is probable that after the death of Ka-mes the sons may have assisted their mother, one after the other, in governing the country, but we have no proof that such was the case. On the other hand, it is quite certain that the country

[1] See Maspero, *Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Marseille*, Paris, 1889, p. 3 (No. 4).

[2] *Recueil*, tom. xiii. p. 146.

was in a very unsettled condition, for, although Seqenen-Rā must have inflicted a severe defeat upon the Hyksos in the battle in which he met his death, their power was by no means broken, especially as they were still in possession of their stronghold Avaris. If then the princes of Thebes were determined to follow up the advantage which they had already gained, it was imperative for them not only to strike, but to strike quickly, and to strike hard, and we are no doubt right in assuming that the interval which existed between the death of Seqenen-Rā and the accession to the throne of Aāḥmes or Amāsis I., the first king of the XVIIIth Dynasty, was very short. The examination of Seqenen-Rā's mummied remains shows that he was of Nubian or Berber origin and descent, and the facts of Egyptian history which have come down to us prove that it was the hot Sûdânî blood[1] which he transmitted to his descendants which made them fight and conquer their enemies wheresoever they met them, and which made their dynasty the greatest that ever sat upon the throne of Egypt. The origin of Aāḥ-ḥetep, the great ancestress of the dynasty, is not so clear, but judging from the name for the Moon-god Aāḥ, , which forms part of her name, she should be connected with some family who were settled in the town called Hermopolis by the Greeks and

[1] *Not* negro blood.

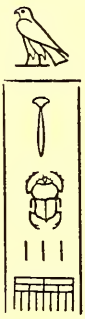
Khemennu, , by the Egyptians.[1] In this city the god Thoth, the Hermes of the Greeks, was worshipped under the form of the ibis, and the moon in the sky was both his dwelling-place and his symbol, and the Moon-god Àāḥ and Thoth were one and the same being. But whatever her origin, Àāḥ-ḥetep was connected with the worshippers of the moon, who gave her the name Àāḥ-ḥetep, just as the worshippers of Rā called their children Rā-ḥetep, and the worshippers of Àmen, Sebek, Menthu, and other gods called their children Àmen-ḥetep, Sebek-ḥetep, Menthu-ḥetep, etc., respectively. It is a pity that no details of the life of this remarkable woman have come down to us, for in her we may recognize a woman equal in ability to the great Queen Ḥātshepset, but with less vanity, and in her we have, no doubt, the source of the wise counsels which resulted in the freeing of the kingdom of Thebes from subjection to the Hyksos, and in the rise to power of the glorious XVIIIth Dynasty.

[1] The modern اشمونين. Among the ancient Copts was a legend to the effect that this city was visited by the Virgin Mary and Joseph and the Child Jesus, Who was worshipped by the acacia trees there; these trees remain in a bowed position "unto this day."

CHAPTER VII.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY. FROM THEBES.

1.  Rā-neb-peḥpeḥ, son of the Sun, Aāḥ-mes, *Ἄμωσις*.

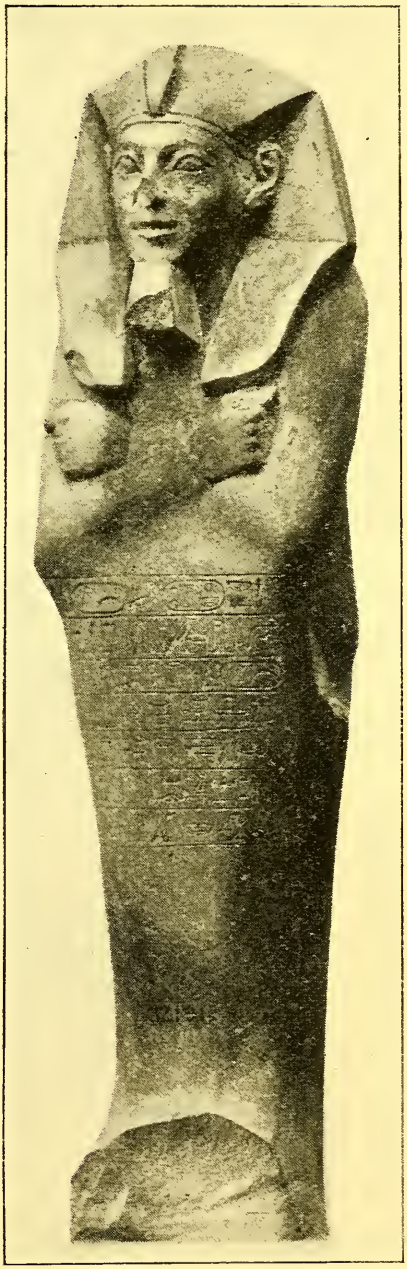


Uatch-Kheperu, the Horus name of Amāsis I.

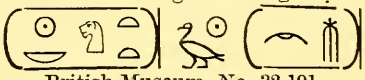
Amāsis I.,[1] the founder of the XVIIIth Dynasty, was the son of Seqenen-Rā, and the brother of Ka-mes, and according to Manetho he reigned twenty-five years; this last statement agrees tolerably well with the evidence of the monuments. He is famous as the king who finally delivered his country from the Hyksos, and we gain some valuable information concerning his expedition against this people from an inscription found in the tomb of one of his naval officers, called, like himself, Amāsis. This distinguished man was a member of one of the great families of the famous city of Nekheb, the seat of the shrine of the goddess Nekhebet, and the city which had almost from time immemorial marked the boundary of Egypt proper in the south, just as Per-Uatchet (Buto)

[1] His name seems to mean, "the Moon-god hath given birth [to him]."

had marked its limit in the north, and which had always been made sufficiently strong to resist any attack which might be made upon it. He is called the "chief of the sailors," and claims in his inscription to be the son of Åbana, ; some think that Åbana was the name of his grandfather, and that his father's name was Baba, but it is far more likely that Åbana and Baba are variant forms of one and the same name. As Amāsis served under four kings, and as his narrative must be given in connexion with the history of this dynasty, a rendering of the inscription is here given.[1] He

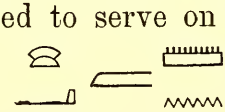


Limestone ushabti figure of king Åāḥmes I.

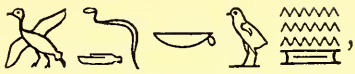
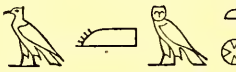


British Museum, No. 32,191.

[1] For the text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 11.

says:—"I speak unto you, O all men, and I would "make you to understand the favours which have come "upon me. I was decorated with gold on seven occa- "sions in the sight of the whole country, and was "given menservants and maidservants, together with "what belonged to them. I acquired many large "estates, and the fame of the brave deeds which I "wrought shall never cease from this land. I came "into being in the city of Nekheb, and my father, Baba, ", the son of Re-ânt, , "was one of the captains of king Seqenen-Rā. I "succeeded him as captain of the ship called the 'Bull' "(*Mas*, ) in the time of the lord of the "two lands Amāsis I., at which period I was still "young and unmarried, and was still sleeping in the "apparel of little boys. But afterwards I got for myself "a house, and I rose up and betook myself to the ship "called the 'North,' that I might fight, and next it "came upon me to follow on my feet after the Prince "when he journeyed in his chariot. Now the king "besieged the city of Avaris,[1] and it became my duty "to fight upon my feet before his majesty. Next I was "promoted to serve on the ship called 'Khā-em-Men- "nefer,' , and whilst the king "was fighting on the waters of the canal of Avaris

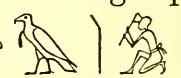
[1] .

"called Patcheṭku, , I rose up,
"and in fighting made a capture and I took a hand.
"When this feat was mentioned to the king he gave
"me a gift of gold for my bravery. And there was
"war again in this place, and again I fought and made
"a capture and took a hand; and again a gift of gold
"for my bravery was given to me. Another time
"war was going on in Ta-qemt, , to
"the south of the city of Avaris. I captured a prisoner
"alive, I rushed into the water, and dragged him with
"me through it and then along the road to the city;
"this feat having been announced to the king by the
"herald, a gift of gold for my bravery was given to me
"again. Finally the king captured the city of Avaris,
"and I brought in as captives one man, and three
"women, four persons in all, and his majesty gave
"them to me for slaves. Then, in the fifth year of his
"reign, his majesty besieged the city of Sharuḥana,[1]
", and took it, and I made a
"capture of two women and one hand; a gift of gold
"was again given to me for my bravery, and the
"captives were given to me for slaves."

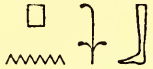
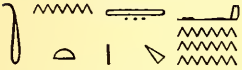
From the above we see that king Amāsis only succeeded in capturing Avaris at the fourth attack, but once having succeeded in doing this he was able to follow up his victory the following year, the fifth of his reign, by

[1] I.e., Sharuhen, שָׁרוּחֶן, of Joshua xix. 6.

pursuing the Hyksos to the city of Sharuhen, whither they had fled for refuge, and its capture enabled him to exact submission from all the tribes in the desert to the north-east of Egypt. The narrative continues :—

"Now when his majesty had chastised sorely the "Mentiu[1] of Asia, , he "sailed up the Nile as far as Khent-ḥen-nefer, "" (which was a district that lay on the bank of the Nile to the east of that portion of it which flows between Wâdî Ḥalfa and the fortresses of Usertsen I. at Semneh), "in order that he might punish "the Ânti, , of Kenseti, , i.e., "Nubia; and his majesty made a great slaughter "among them. I rose up and I brought in two "prisoners alive and three hands, and the king again "gave me a gift of gold and also two female slaves. "Then his majesty sailed down the river with joy, his "heart being elated with conquest and strength because "he had conquered and obtained possession of the "lands of the south and those of the north." Thus we see that Amāsis I. was now master both of the Delta and of Upper Egypt and Nubia. Soon after this, however, we read that a serious revolt broke out in the south, and the leader, who is called the "Filthy One," or "Scourge," , came north-

[1] I.e., the tribes who lived in the desert from southern Syria as far south as Sinai.

wards quickly and defiled, or laid waste, the shrines of the gods of the south; Amāsis I., with his two generals called Amāsis, son of Ȧbana, and Amāsis, surnamed Pen-nekheb, ,[1] brought him to bay in a place on or near the Nile, close to Egypt, called Thent-ta-ā, . Here his majesty took him and his men prisoners, and, says the general, "I rose up and "brought in two prisoners whom I had seized and "dragged from the boat of the Scourge, and his "majesty gave me five heads as my share and five *sta* "of land in my native city. The same was done to all "the sailors of the boat wherein I was. Then there rose "up a vile one, whose name was Tetȧ-ān, , "and he gathered unto him a number of runagates and "rebels, but his majesty smote him and his companions "so sorely that they could never again rise up. On "this occasion the king gave me three heads and five "measures of land in my own city." The general Amāsis concludes his inscription by describing how he conveyed his majesty Amenophis I. up the river when he went to enlarge the boundaries of Egypt, and how the king took captive many Nubians,[2] and also how

[1] For the text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 43; and Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments*, pl. 4.

[2] Amāsis brought the king back from "Khnemet ḥeru," , i e., the "upper desert well," to Egypt in two days.

he conveyed his majesty Thothmes I. up the river when he was making an expedition against the disaffected tribes of Khent-ḥen-nefer.

It seems that when Amāsis I. had conquered his foes in the south and the north he settled down to administer his country, for no further military expeditions are mentioned; that this was much needed goes without saying, for the temples of the gods were in ruins, and everywhere the works which it was the duty of the Government to perform had been neglected. The Hyksos destroyed much, but what they left undestroyed the native Egyptians neglected; through these causes the condition of the country was lamentable. In the twenty-second year of his reign Amasis I. was able seriously to undertake the rebuilding of the temples of the gods, especially those of Ptaḥ at Memphis and Àmen in the Àpts, and with this object in view he had the quarries of Ṭura reopened, in order that "good stone" might be hewed therein for the buildings.[1] The hewing of the stone was carried out by people called "Fenkhu," , who are commonly but erroneously supposed to be "Phoenicians," but the word "Fenkhu" does not represent *Φοίνικες*, for the simple reason that this Greek word was unknown to the Egyptians at that time. "Fenkhu" means, as Müller has shown,[2] "foreigners" in general,

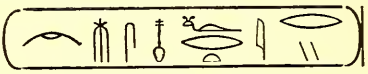
[1] See for the texts of the two tablets in the quarries at Ṭura which mention these facts, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 3.

[2] *Asien und Europa*, p. 210 ff.

but underlying this general term is the meaning "thieves" or "plunderers," i.e., "barbarian robbers." It is, however, possible that in later times the Fenkhu were identified with the Phoenicians. Under the larger tablet at Ṭura is a representation of three pair of oxen drawing a stone from the quarry on a sledge; their drivers carry sticks and wear short, pointed beards. Of the closing years of Amāsis I. and of his death we know nothing; his body was mummified, and the mummy was found at Dêr al-Baḥarî, whither it had been removed from his own tomb for safety. It was about 5 feet 5 inches in length, and was unrolled on June 9, 1886; the wrappings and swathings were of coarse linen, and of a yellowish colour, and well illustrated the skill which the embalmers of the XVIIIth Dynasty possessed. The head was small in proportion to the size of the body, but it gave the idea of a healthy and vigorous man who was at most fifty years of age. The hair was thick and wavy, like that of Seqenen-Rā, whom Amāsis resembled in a remarkable degree. The eyelids and part of the cartilage of the nose had been removed in days of old; the forehead was narrow, the cheek bones were prominent, the mouth delicate and filled with strong teeth, and the chin firm.[1] The wooden coffin of Amāsis I. is in the form of a human body, and has a beard; the hair, ornaments, etc., are painted in blue upon a yellow ground. The coffin is about 5 ft. 11 ins. long, and upon the breast

[1] See Maspero, *Les Momies Royales*, p. 534.

is inscribed . To the reign of Amāsis I. the departure of Moses from Egypt is attributed by Manetho (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 116).

The wife of Amāsis I. was his sister, and was called ÀĀḤMES-NEFERT-ÀRI ; she is described on the tablet at Ṭura as "divine wife, royal "wife, great lady, lady of the two lands; royal daughter, "royal sister, royal mother, mistress of all the two lands." Of the details of her life we know nothing, but she must have been, like her sister-in-law, Àāḥ-ḥetep, the wife of Ka-mes, a woman of remarkable ability, for she was, down to very late times, venerated as a divine being, and her "image was placed as an equal among "the eternal inhabitants of the Egyptian heaven. In "the united assembly of the sainted kings of the New "Empire" she "sits enthroned at the head of all the "Pharaonic pairs, and before all the royal children of "their race, as the specially venerated ancestress and "founder of the XVIIIth Dynasty."[1] On many monuments the queen is depicted with skin of a dark or blue colour, but we must not imagine because of this that she was descended from a black race into which Amāsis I. was obliged to marry in order to make valid his occupation of the throne of Egypt; on the contrary, there is every reason to think that she was of Egyptian descent, and the true explanation of the blue or dark

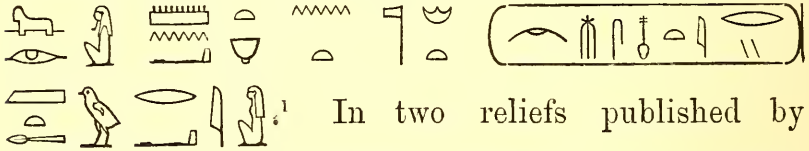
[1] Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 279.

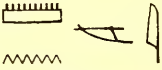
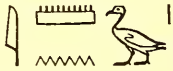
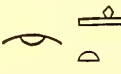
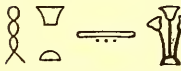
colour of her skin is that when she was represented so coloured she was intended to personify some mythological personage.[1] The mummy of the queen was moved from her tomb to Dêr al-Baharî, where it seems to have been found with her coffin. M. Maspero describes[2] the coffin as colossal, and says that it was made of layers of linen and plaster made of lime, and is different in shape from the ordinary coffin, inasmuch as the bust can be removed from it in one piece, just like the upper part of a needle-case. The head-dress, necklaces, etc., are painted in blue on a yellow ground, and the general form of the monument recalls that of the Osiris pillars which ornament the courtyard of Medînet Habu; the coffin is about 10 ft. 3 in. long, and contained a poor looking mummy, and a small coffin in which lay a very carefully prepared mummy. M. Maspero and all the officials believed that the poor looking mummy had been put in the coffin when it was being removed to the hiding-place, and that the other mummy was that of queen Nefert-âri; it was therefore placed in the store-room of the Bûlâḳ Museum, where it rotted so quickly and emitted such a terrible smell that it was necessary to get rid of it. In September, 1885, it was opened by E. Brugsch Bey, and when the body had been removed from the swathings with which it had been most carefully swathed, it became a mere mass of corruption and emitted a dark coloured liquid of a most foetid and insufferable odour. The remains were those of a

[1] Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 66.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 535.

woman of somewhat advanced age and of medium height, and she belonged to a fair-skinned race. There were no traces of writing on the swathings, but all the same the mummy was probably that of Ȧāḥmes-nefert-ȧri, and it can only be regretted that her mortal remains were allowed to disappear in this fashion. It is interesting to note that the great queen took care to have her nurse Rāȧ mummified and buried with due honour. The coffin of this lady was found with those of the royal personages at Dêr al-Baḥarî, and it was ornamented with yellow bands painted on a green ground; her name is thus given, "Osiris, the nurse of the "divine wife Ȧāḥmes-nefert-ȧri, triumphant, Rāȧ,"



[1] In two reliefs published by Lepsius[2] we have depicted a number of the children of Amāsis I., and it is a remarkable fact that each name is given in a cartouche; among the names mentioned are Ȧmen-merit, ; Ȧmen-sat, ; Ȧmen-sa, ; Sa-pa-ȧr, ; Ȧāḥ-ḥetep, ; Ḥent-ta-meḥt, , etc., but all these were not the children of the queen Ȧāḥmes-nefert-ȧri.

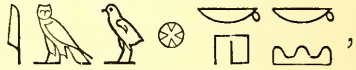
[1] Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

[2] *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 2.

2.  RĀ-TCHESER-KA, son of the Sun, ÀMEN-ḤETEP, *Ἀμενωφθίς*.

Amāsis I., the great liberator of Egypt, was succeeded by his son ÀMEN-ḤETEP I., who, according to the principal version of the King List of Manetho, reigned for twenty-one years. The versions of Manetho's List given by Julius Africanus and Eusebius name a king Chebros or Chebron, *Χέβρων*, as the successor of Amāsis I., and say that he reigned for thirteen years, but the evidence of the monuments does not support this statement.[1] It seems that when Amāsis I. died his widow and their young son Àmen-hetep I. ruled together, but during the period of the joint rule no military expeditions were undertaken by the Egyptians. Of the wars which Àmen-ḥetep I. waged we obtain some information from the inscriptions in the tombs of Àāḥmes, the son of Àbana, and Àāḥmes surnamed Pennekheb, to whom we have already referred. Àāḥmes, the naval officer, says, "I conveyed by boat the king of "the South and North, Amenophis I., when he sailed "up the Nile to Nubia (Kesh ), to enlarge the "borders of Egypt. His majesty took captive the chief "of the Ànti of Kenset among his soldiers, for they "were taken in ambush and could not escape, and they

[1] Chebron seems to be a corruption of the prenomen of Thothmes I., Āa-kheper-ka-Rā.

"were scattered about and could offer no further resist-
"ance. And behold, I was at the head of our soldiers,
"and I fought with all my might and the king saw my
"prowess. I brought in two hands and carried them
"to his majesty, and the king went about in search of
"his followers and their cattle. I captured one prisoner
"alive, and I brought him to his majesty, and I brought
"his majesty down from the Upper Pool (or Well) in
"two days, and the king gave me a gift of gold.
"Besides the prisoners whom I had already captured I
"brought in to his majesty two female slaves, and then
"I was promoted to the rank of 'Āḥatiu-en-ḥeq,' i.e.,
"the Royal Guard." Âāḥmes, the namesake, and no doubt a relative of the naval officer, for both came from the city of Nekheb, says, "I followed the king of
"the South and North, Rā-tcheser-ka, triumphant, and I
"captured in Nubia, , one prisoner alive. And on a
"second occasion I was with him, and I captured in the
"north among the Âmu-kehek, ,
"three hands."[1] From the evidence of these officials it is clear that the king waged war both in Nubia against the tribes of the Eastern Sûdân, and in the country which lay between Memphis and the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon, to the north-west of the Nile Valley, where a number of Libyan tribes lived. Neither war, however, seems to have been long or serious, and we shall be right if we regard each in the light of what would

[1] For the text see Maspero, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 78.

to-day be called a "punitive expedition"; in any case, Àmen-ḥetep only seems to have been anxious to protect his rights.

The king's building operations were wide-spread, for he added to the temples of Karnak and Dêr al-Baḥarî;[1] he built a shrine in honour of Satet, a goddess of the First Cataract and Elephantine, at Ibrîm (Primis); and an inscription at Silsila proves that he worked the quarries there. It will be remembered that the great queen Àāḥmes-nefert-àri is depicted on the monuments with a dark skin, and it must now be noted that the Theban artists gave a skin of the same colour to Àmen-ḥetep I.; Nefert-àri was thus depicted because she was identified with the goddess Isis, and Àmen-ḥetep because he was identified with the god Osiris. As a result, both the king and his mother were worshipped for centuries after their death, and the scenes on the monuments in which this worship is depicted are very numerous.[2] An examination of the beautifully painted coffins of the priests of Àmen-Rā, which were found at Dêr al-Baḥarî, shows that one of the most prominent of the figures of divine beings represented upon them is that of Àmen-ḥetep I., and the cartouches of this king occur on the coffins in prominent places. These facts have been explained by

[1] Though he may have been the founder of the first temple which stood there.

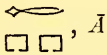
[2] The greater number of these are given by Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 319 ff.

suggesting that the king was looked upon as a protecting god, who possessed much the same powers as the great gods of the underworld, but it is to be considered whether the king does not owe his divine position to the fact that he was a great patron of the priests of Àmen-Rā, and a munificent supporter of that famous confraternity, which obtained such remarkable influence and power in the XVIIIth Dynasty. Àmen, the god who had given Seqenen-Rā III. the victory over the Hyksos, was exalted over all the old gods of Thebes at that period, and it is difficult not to think that gratitude on the part of the priesthood of the god had as much to do with the perpetuating of the figure and cartouches of the king on the coffins of the priests as purely religious sentiment. But, in either case, the king must have been a good and a religious man, for there must have been good reasons for the worship and reverence which were paid to him for several hundreds of years.[1]

Àmen-ḥetep I. was buried in a rock-hewn tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, which

[1] Of his famous statue at Turin Maspero says, "Une de ses statues nous le représente assis sur son trône, dans la posture du roi qui accorde une audience à ses sujets, ou du dieu qui attend l'hommage de ses adorateurs. Le buste s'en modèle avec une souplesse qu'on s'étonne de rencontrer dans une œuvre si proche des temps barbares ; la tête est une merveille de délicatesse et de grâce naïve. On sent que le sculpteur s'est complu à ciseler amoureusement les traits du maître, et à préciser l'expression de bienveillance un peu rêveuse qui les éclairait."—*Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 103.

fact we learn from the Abbott Papyrus, where we are told that on a given day the masons examined and found in good state "the eternal horizon of king "Tcheser-ka-Rā, the son of the Sun, Àmen-ḥetep, which "is 120 cubits, , deep from its sacrificial hall, "as well as the long corridor which is found to the "north of the temple of Àmen-ḥetep and the garden "concerning which the *ḥā* prince, the governor of the "city, made his report to the superintendent of the "city, Khā-em-Uast, and to the royal inspector, Nessu-"Àmen, and to the scribe of Pharaoh,[1] and to the "steward of the house of the Neter-ṭuat of Àmen-Rā, "the king of the gods, and to the royal inspector, Nefer-"ka-Rā-em-per-Àmen, and to the herald of Pharaoh, "and to the chief elders of the city, saying, 'the thieves[2] "have broken into it.'" The mummy and coffin of Àmen-ḥetep I. were found at Dêr al-Baḥarî. The coffin is painted white, the head yellow, the headdress black, and the wooden uraeus with which it is ornamented is painted in bright colours; one vertical line of hieroglyphics runs down the front, and it cuts, at right angles, three bands of inscription. The vertical line describes Àmen-ḥetep as "Osiris, king, lord of the "two lands, Tcheser-ka-Rā, son of Àmen, lord of "crowns, (or, risings), Àmen-ḥetep-f-en-Qemt,[3] beloved

[1] In Egyptian, , *Àa-perti*, "the great double house."

[2] Maspero, *Enquête*, p. 13.

[3] I.e., Àmen maketh Egypt to be at peace.

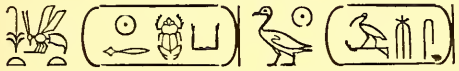
"of Ptaḥ-Seker-Àsâr."[1] On the breast are two inscriptions, one of which states that the king's mummy was re-bandaged in the sixth year of the reign of Painetchem, and the other that the same process was performed in the sixteenth year of the reign of Masaharth, the son of Painetchem.[2] The mummy is about 5 ft. 5 in. long, and is draped in orange-coloured linen; it is covered from head to foot with garlands of flowers, red, blue, and yellow, and near these is the body of a wasp which was shut in the coffin by accident. Up to the time when M. Maspero[3] wrote his description of the mummy it had not been unrolled. Àmen-ḥetep I. married his sister Àāḥ-ḥetep, whose coffin was found with that of her husband; it is of colossal size, and the headdress, the necklace, etc., are painted in blue upon a yellow ground. The titles painted upon it describe her as "royal daughter, royal sister, the great lady (i.e., chief wife), who is united to the crown, royal mother," and the coffin much resembles that of her mother Àāhmes-nefert-ari. In this coffin was found a mummy which was believed to be that of the queen, but when it was opened on June 27th, 1886, the

[1]  was the triune god of the resurrection.

[2] .

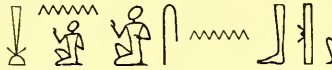
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 536.

inscriptions which were found upon the bandages, etc., showed that it was the mummy of king Painetchem; the mummy of the queen has never been found.

3.  RĀ-ĀA-KHEPER-KA, son of the Sun, TEḤUTI-MES.



KA-NEKHT-MERI-MAĀT, the Horus name of Thothmes I.

TEḤUTI-MES I.,[1] or THOTHMES I., was the son of Åmen-ḥetep I. and the royal mother Sen-seneb, , and according to the King List of Manetho he reigned about twenty-two years; according to the monuments now known the length of his reign was much less. From the fact that the name of Sen-seneb, the mother of Thothmes I., is not enclosed in a cartouche, it has been considered that she did not belong to a royal family, and that she was only a woman of the lower middle class, in fact, that she was a mere concubine; her son gave her the title of "royal mother," but she seems never to have enjoyed the rank, and dignity, and title of "royal wife," . From an inscription[2] found upon a limestone tablet preserved in the Cairo Museum, we gather that when a king succeeded to the throne he caused a

[1] I.e., "Thoth hath given birth."

[2] Erman, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1891, p. 116.

circular announcing the fact to be sent out to the principal nobles of the great cities of his kingdom; this tablet contains a copy of the circular which Thothmes I. sent out to announce his own succession. He ascended the throne on the 21st day of the third month of the season *Pert*, and he declares that his



Head of the mummy of Thothmes I. (?).

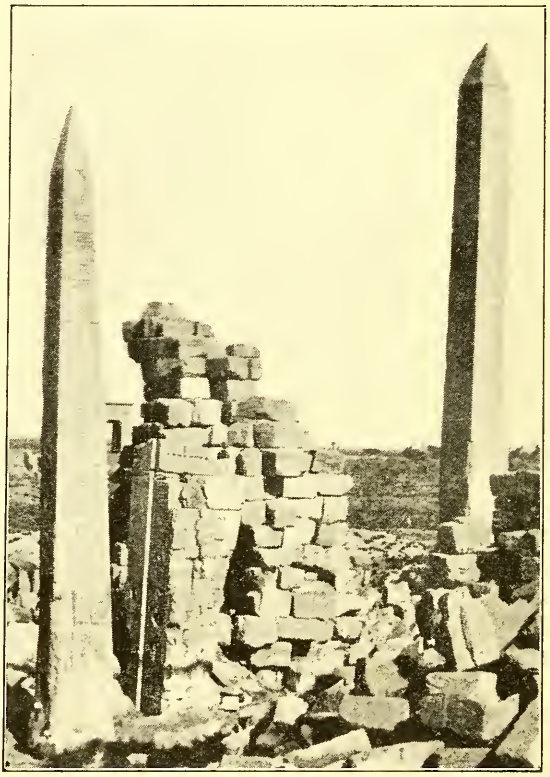
style and titles are:—"Horus, the mighty bull, be-
"loved of Maāt, lord of Nekhebet and Per-Uatchet, he
"who is diademed with the fiery uraeus, great one of
"double strength, the Horus of gold, beautiful of years,
"making hearts to live, King of the South and North,
"Āa-kheper-ka-Rā, son of the Sun, [Teḥuti-mes,] living

"for ever and for ever."[1] Following this enumeration of titles the king commands that the offerings which are due to the gods of the south at Elephantine shall be offered with wishes for the happiness of himself, and he directs that the oath shall be taken in the name of his majesty, who was born of the royal mother Senseneb.

One of the first military expeditions undertaken by Thothmes I. was that directed against the Nubians, and his naval officer, Aāhmes, the son of Abana, tells us what took place. He says, "I conveyed the king "of the South and North up the river when he sailed "to Khent-ḥen-nefer to punish the disaffected ones "among the inhabitants, and to prevent them from "making inroads into Egypt. I fought side by side "with the king in mid-stream, and as the boats met "some of them (i.e., the enemy's boats) overturned and "drifted to the bank; they promoted me to be 'Chief "of the sailors.' His majesty raged at them like a "panther, and he hurled his javelin, which pierced the "body of his foe, who fell down headlong before the "king; the enemy suffered a great defeat, and large "numbers of them were taken prisoners alive. Then

[1] 

"his majesty sailed down the river, and all the people "made submission unto him. And the dead body of "the vile king of the Nubians was tied to the bows of "the ship of his majesty, who returned to Thebes."



Obelisks at Karnak.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

The namesake and relative of the naval officer, Aāḥmes Pen-nekheb, also gives us a brief mention of his own prowess, for he says, "I followed the king of the South "and North, Rā-āa-kheper-ka, triumphant, and I cap-

"tured in the country of Kesh two prisoners alive, "besides the living prisoners whom I gave away in the "country of Kesh, and whom I do not take into "account."[1] The first Nubian war cannot, however, have been a very serious matter, and it cannot have lasted long, but it seems that the Egyptians had considerable power over Nubia, otherwise the appointment of a "Prince of Kesh" (Cush) would have been unnecessary.

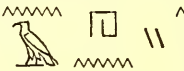
It is doubtful how far to the south the Egyptian rule extended, but if the Egyptians managed to hold the country of Nubia as far as Tombos,[2] where Thothmes I., in the second year of his reign, set up a memorial stele recording his victories over the Nubian tribes,[3] they certainly must have been able to control the country as far as Napata, or Jabal Barkal, a little below the foot of the Fourth Cataract. In the third year of his reign Thothmes I. again went to Nubia on a punitive expedition, and on the 22nd day of the ninth month he passed through the canal in the First Cataract which was made in the reign of king Mer-en-Rā, and which was repaired by Usertsen III., and cleared out by Thothmes III.[4] The next expedition of Thothmes I. was directed against the inhabitants of Rethennu,

[1] *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1883, p. 78.

[2] The Island of Tombos is near Kerma, at the head of the Third Cataract, and is about 210 miles south of Wâdî Ḥalfa: the cartouches of Thothmes I. are found much further south.

[3] For the text see Lepsius, iii. pl. 5.

[4] Wilbour, *Recueil*, tom. xiii. p. 203.

, i.e., the land of Northern Syria, and of the region to the north-west of Mesopotamia. Here he fought many fights with the people who, we may assume, had rebelled against him, and he made many prisoners, and gained much spoil. The officer Âāḥmes Pen-nekheb says in his inscription,[1] "Again I made an "expedition with the king of the South and North "Âa-kheper-ka-Rā, triumphant, and I captured for him "in the land of Nahenina, , i.e., "Mesopotamia, twenty-one hands, one horse, one "chariot. And I followed the king and brought back "from the land of the Shasu, , so many "prisoners alive that I do not here take them into ac- "count." When Thothmes I. was in Mesopotamia he set up a stele, to mark the extent of the Egyptian Empire in that direction, which was still standing in the reign of Thothmes III., and which was seen by that king.

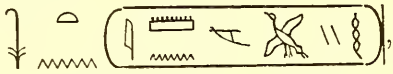
The battles of Thothmes I. were fought in the early years of his reign, and the king had leisure when they were concluded to devote his energies to the building or restoration of the shrines of the gods. He built a pylon and two granite obelisks at Karnak; one of these obelisks was usurped by Thothmes III., and is now destroyed, and the other, which contains also inscriptions of Rameses IV. and Rameses VI., is still standing. This

[1] *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 78.

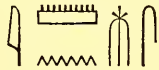
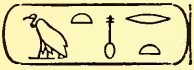
obelisk is about seventy-six feet high, and stands upon a pedestal about six feet square; in front of it is a large stone plinth, which was probably intended to support a statue of the king. The ancient text on the obelisk records the name and titles of Thothmes I., and says that it was set up in honour of the god Åmen-Rā. In addition to the many buildings which he built at Karnak we find that he carried on great works in other parts of Thebes, e.g., Dêr al-Medîna, Shêkh 'Abd al-Ḳûrna, Medînet Habu, and he built a temple at Abydos, of which, however, no remains have been found. He worked the quarries at Silsila, and he hewed out a rock chapel at Ibrîm (Primis) in honour of Thoth and Satet, the local gods of Elephantine and Nubia, and remains of his buildings are found in the forts established in the Second Cataract by the kings of the XIIth Dynasty; the stele set up by him further to the south has been already mentioned.

The mummy and coffin of Thothmes I. were found with a number of royal mummies at Dêr al-Baḥarî. The wooden coffin of the king had been usurped by Painetchem, for whom it was covered with gold and enamel; this ornamentation was partly removed in ancient days, and the prenomen of Thothmes I. is visible in several places.[1] When the coffin was used for Painetchem it was practically re-made, but at the present time it is in a very poor condition. The mummy which was inside the coffin of Queen Åāḥ-ḥetep

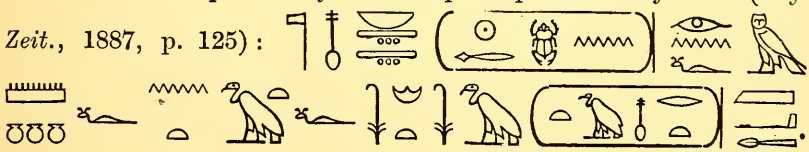
[1] Maspero, *Les Momies Royales*, pp. 545, 570, and 581.

was opened on June 27, 1886, and the inscriptions on the bandages proved that it was the mummy of Pai-netchem, , and not that of the queen; it had been partly opened by the Arabs, but the lower half of the mummy was intact, and between the legs was a copy of the *Book of the Dead*. In the coffin of Thothmes I. was a mummy which had been plundered first by the Egyptian robbers in ancient days, and afterwards by the Arabs in recent times. The mummified body was, however, admirably preserved, and the small emaciated figure indicated the possession of uncommon vigour during its lifetime. The head is that of an old man and was shaved, and the features were delicate and cunning. The teeth were well worn, but were flat on the tops like those of all people who are in the habit of eating grain insufficiently ground, and who crush their corn in their mouths by setting the teeth of the upper jaw immediately above those of the lower jaw. As it was impossible, for want of inscribed bandages, to identify this mummy by the ordinary means, an attempt was made to do so by comparing its features with those of persons who have been satisfactorily identified; this plan was adopted by M. Maspero, who was soon struck with the resemblance which it presents to Thothmes II., although the forehead of Thothmes II. is much more retreating, and the face of his mummy has a less intelligent expression than that of Thothmes I. The

conclusion arrived at was that the nameless mummy in the coffin of Thothmes I. was in reality that of the king himself.

The chief wife of Thothmes I. was the "divine wife, "the lady of the two lands, the great lady, the royal "sister, and royal wife Ȧāḥmes," or Amāsis, the daughter of Ȧmen-ḥetep I. and queen Ȧāḥ-ḥetep II.; i.e., Thothmes I. married his sister, but he also married another woman, namely Mut-nefert. By the queen Ȧāḥmes he had two daughters, one who became the famous queen Ḥātshepset, and another called[1] Neferu-khebit, and two sons, Uatchmes, , and Ȧmen-mes, ; by the lady Mut-nefert, , he became the father of Thothmes II.[2] The two former sons of Thothmes I. were associated with him in the rule of the kingdom, one after the other, but neither of them lived very long, and the king was obliged to make his daughter Ḥāt-shepset co-regent; we have a reference to this event in an inscription of Thothmes I. on a pylon at Karnak, wherein the king is made in his prayer to the god Ȧmen to ask him to give "the Black Country and the

[1] .

[2] This fact is proved by an inscription published by Piehl (*Aeg. Zeit.*, 1887, p. 125): .

"Red Country to my daughter, the Queen of the South "and North, Maāt-ka-Ra, living for ever, even as thou "hast given them unto me." In former days it was customary for Egyptologists to say that Ḥātshepset was the daughter of Thothmes I., and the wife of Thothmes II., and the sister of Thothmes III., and the great authorities Hincks, Birch, and Lepsius, basing their opinion on a statement found on the statue of Anebni in the British Museum,[1] declared unhesitatingly that Thothmes III. was the brother of Ḥātshepset. Later it was believed that Ḥātshepset was the daughter of Thothmes I. and of the queen Àāḥmes, that Thothmes II. was the son of Thothmes I. and of a second wife called Mut-nefert, and that Thothmes III. was the son of Thothmes I. and of a third wife called Àset. Thanks, however, to the discovery by M. Boussac of the stele of the scribe Ànen, , at Thebes,[2] we learn that this official flourished under four kings, i.e., Àmenḥetep I., Thothmes I., Thothmes II., and Thothmes III. Under Thothmes I. he served in many an exalted office, and under Thothmes II. he attained to a position of the highest trust and confidence before the king. The portion of his stele, however, which concerns us most is that which says, "When the king of the South and "North, Āa-kheper-en-Rā (Thothmes II.) reigned over "Qemt (i.e., the Black Land), and ruled the Red Land,

[1] Northern Egyptian Gallery, No. 51*a*.

[2] See *Recueil*, tom. xii. p. 106.

"and made himself master of the two lands in triumph,
"I was filling the heart of the king in every place of
"his, and what he did for me was greater than that
"which the kings before him had done, and I attained
"to the dignity of his most trusted friends, and I was
"among the favoured ones of his majesty every day.
". . . . Then when he went forth [1] to heaven and was
"united unto the gods, his son stood upon his throne
"as king of the two lands, and he ruled upon the
"throne of him that begot him. And his sister, the
"divine wife Ḥātshepset was made a ruler of the
"country, and the two lands were under her jurisdic-
"tion, and Qemt performed for her works of service
"with due submission." From this passage we must certainly conclude that Thothmes III. succeeded Thothmes II., and that his father was Thothmes II.; and we may also say that Ḥātshepset was the daughter of Thothmes I. and queen Aāḥmes; that Thothmes II. was the son of Thothmes I. by another wife called

[1] The text runs: 

Mut-nefert, and that Thothmes III. was the son of Thothmes II. by a wife called Åset.[1]

4. 

Rā-āa-kheper-en, son of the Sun, Teḥuti-mes-nefer-khāu.



Ka-nekht-user-peḫpeḥ, the Horus name of Thothmes II.

Teḥuti-mes II., or Thothmes II., succeeded to the throne immediately after his father's death, and there is no evidence in support of the view that another king reigned between the reigns of Thothmes I. and his son Thothmes II.; according to Manetho, his reign lasted twelve or thirteen years, and this statement is tolerably well supported by the monuments. In addition to the Horus and other names given above, he adopted the titles, "the Horus of gold, lord of Nekhebet and Per-Uatchet, "[the king] with divine sovereignty," and he styled himself, "the son of Åmen, the emanation of Åmen, "the chosen one of Åmen, the beloved of Åmen, the "avenger of Rā, beautiful of risings, prince of Thebes, "and the power which maketh things to be." In his short reign Thothmes II. carried on no great wars, but

[1] The whole subject is discussed in detail by Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, London, 1894, p. 13; and by Maspero, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xiv. p. 170.

he undertook the chastisement of the nomad tribes on the north-east frontier of Egypt, as we learn from an inscription on the rocks at Aswân.[1] In this he speaks of the terrors with which he inspired the Ḥa-nebu, ,[2] i.e., the sea-coast dwellers of the Delta, etc., and how he set the Nine Bows, or barbarian desert



Head of the mummy of Thothmes II.

tribes, under his sandals; he attacked the nomad Asiatics, the Mentiu, the tribes of the eastern desert, and the dwellers in the swamps, and then gave his

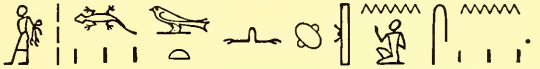
[1] For the text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 16.

[2] See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 24 ff.; and Hall, *Oldest Civilization*, 158.

attention to the degraded country of Kesh,  (Cush). The foolish people of Nubia, on receipt of the news of the death of Thothmes I., began to revolt against their Egyptian masters, and to plunder their property, and to raid their cattle, even daring to invade Egyptian territory. This brought upon them the usual punitive expedition, and Thothmes II., or his general for him, swore that he would not leave a single man alive in the country. The Egyptian army marched into Nubia, killing people and laying waste the land, for the king is said to have been so angry that he was "like a panther"; every male is said to have been killed, "except one of the damned sons of the chief of Kesh, "and he was brought alive and bound like a prisoner, "together with his household, into the presence of his "majesty, and he was placed under the feet of the "beautiful god." The usual large number of prisoners were made and led before his majesty, and when gifts had been given by the Nubians, and due submission made, their chiefs sang the usual hymns of praise in honour of the Egyptian king who had broken their power for the time being, and then they retired to wait for the next opportunity of making a successful revolt.

Of the Nubian raid of Thothmes II. we have no record save the above, but Aāḥmes Pen-nekheb, who had served under three of his ancestors,[1] in the inscriptions

[1] Aāḥmes I., Amen-ḥetep I., Thothmes I.; see Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments*, pl. 4.

which he had inscribed on his statues[1] tells us that Thothmes II. gave him rich gifts, such as four bracelets (?) of gold, six collars of gold, vessels made of lapis-lazuli, and two silver axes; and we may be certain that these objects were intended as a reward for services rendered in the field. In another part of the inscription he says that he followed Thothmes II. against the Shasu, , and that he captured alive more prisoners than he could count. .

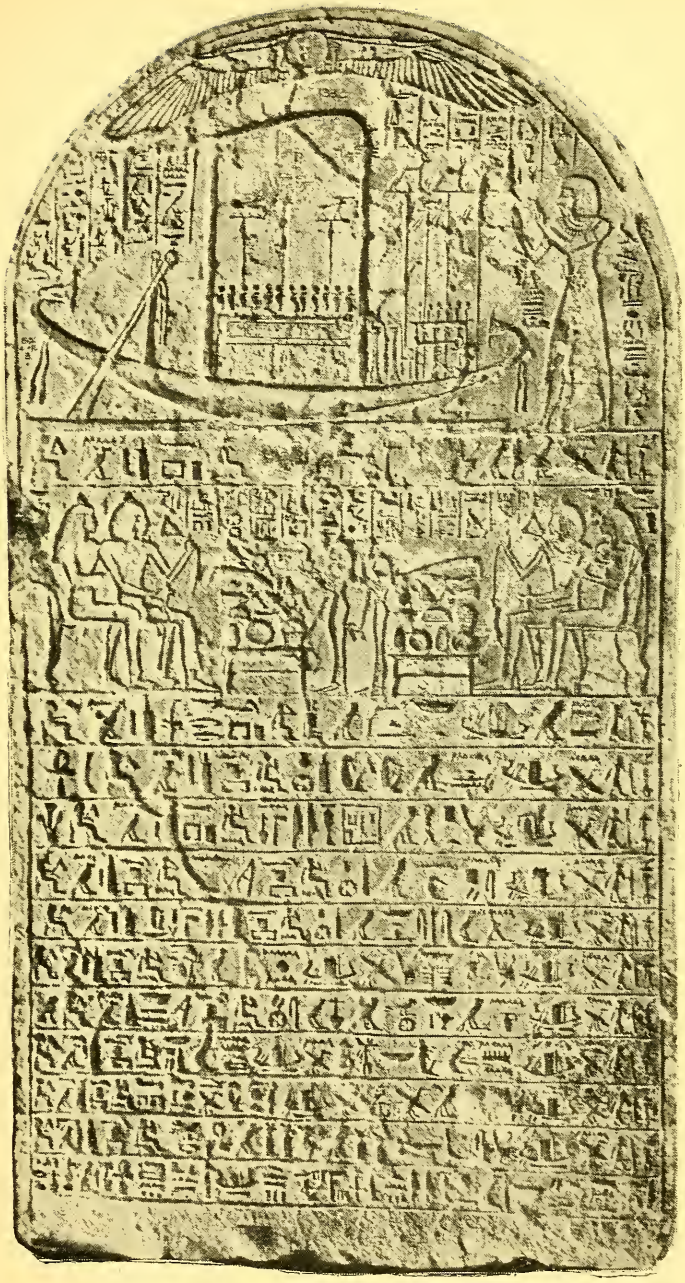
Thothmes II. was probably buried in a place near, or, perhaps, actually in a part of the famous temple of Dêr al-Baharî, but his mummy and coffin were removed from their resting place in troublous times, and they were found hidden in the shaft and chambers which are now so well known. The coffin is painted yellow and white, and much resembles that of Àmen-ḥetep I. On the linen over the breast of the mummy was an inscription in hieratic which states that the mummy was re-bandaged in the sixth year of the reign of Pai-netchem, the son of the first prophet of Àmen, Piānkhi. The mummy was decorated with garlands, and was about 5 ft. 11 in. long. It was unrolled on July 1, 1886, when it was found to have been opened in ancient days, and to have been remade, as stated above, in the time of Pai-netchem. The body had suffered

[1] Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments*, pl. 4; *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 78.

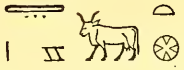
much at the hands of the spoilers, and its jewels and ornaments had been hacked off it with a knife or axe; the shoulders, and hips, and pelvis had been broken, and the breast-bone was staved in. To judge by the teeth the king could not have been more than thirty years of age when he died, and though the skin was white, it was covered with blotches, the result, probably, of the disease from which he suffered. The top of the head was almost bald, but the lower parts and the temples were covered with a crown of light chestnut coloured hair, moderately thick and slightly wavy. The head is small and long, the forehead is low and narrow, the nose is deformed, the mouth large, and the teeth are white and in good condition. Thothmes II. does not appear to have possessed much muscular strength, and he was never circumcised.[1] The building operations carried on by Thothmes II. were very considerable, if we take into account the shortness of his reign. He added to the great temple of Ámen at Karnak, and built a small temple to Hathor at Al-Asasîf, and decorated the temple of Medînet Habu with a number of reliefs. His name is found in many places in Egypt and Nubia,[2] and a historical stele bearing his prenomen was discovered by Prof. Ascherson near the Oasis of Al-'Ayûn, which is probably to be identified with the Oasis of Baḥrîyeh, or the ὄασις μικρὰ of Ptolemy,

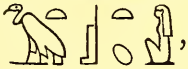
[1] Maspero, *Momies Royales*, p. 547.

[2] For a list see Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 330.



Limestone stele made for Ánna, with scenes in which the deceased is represented making offerings to the boats of Temu, Ptaḥ, and other gods. XVIIIth Dynasty. British Museum No. 1332.

and the Ta-ȧḥet, , of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.[1]

Thothmes II. married his sister Ḥatshepset, by whom he had two daughters, one called Rā-neferu, and the other Ḥātshepset, after her mother; his son Thothmes III. was borne to him by the "royal mother Ȧset," , a lady who was not of royal descent. In this fact M. Naville sees an explanation of the relations which existed between Ḥātshepset and her step-son and nephew Thothmes III. "The son of "Thothmes II., Thothmes III., was born of another "wife, who was perhaps a rival or a slave; and if "Ḥatshepsu shared her throne with the only heir of "Thothmes II., it was doubtless because she was con- "strained to do so either by circumstances or by custom, "and not from any affection which she bore to her "husband's son who was also her own nephew. The "relations between aunt and nephew were certainly not "characterised by attachment and mutual confidence, "for with Thothmes III. they left no trace of anything "but resentment, which he sought to appease by doing "his utmost to destroy everything recalling the reign "of Hatshepsu." [2]

[1] See Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase*, p. 65; and *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 120.

[2] *Deir el-Bahari*, p. 14.

END OF VOL. III.

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